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# CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE



## Sixth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee On Un-American Activities

1951

### MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

SENATOR NATHAN F. COOMBS

SENATOR EARL D. DESMOND

SENATOR CLYDE A. WATSON

SENATOR NELSON S. DILWORTH  
*Vice Chairman*

SENATOR HUGH M. BURNS, *Chairman*

R. E. COMBS, *Chief Counsel*

MARY E. HOPE, *Executive Secretary*

*Published by the*  
**SENATE**

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JOSEPH A. BEEK  
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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SENATE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL

SACRAMENTO, JUNE 8, 1951

*Hon. Goodwin J. Knight*

*President of the Senate; and*

*Gentlemen of the Senate*

*Senate Chamber, Sacramento, California*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

Pursuant to Senate Resolution No. 137, which appears at page 3524 of the Senate Journal for July 2, 1949, the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities was created and the following members of the Senate were appointed to said committee by the Senate Committee on Rules:

Senator Hugh M. Burns  
Senator Nelson S. Dilworth  
Senator Clyde A. Watson  
Senator Nathan F. Coombs  
Senator Earl D. Desmond

The committee herewith submits a report of its investigations and findings.

Respectfully submitted,

HUGH M. BURNS, Chairman  
NELSON S. DILWORTH, Vice Chairman  
CLYDE A. WATSON  
NATHAN F. COOMBS  
EARL D. DESMOND



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# INTRODUCTION

At the 1939 Session of the Legislature an Assembly Interim Committee was formed to investigate and report on alleged Communist infiltration of the State Relief Administration. That committee, headed by Assemblyman Samuel W. Yorty, now a member of Congress, revealed conditions of such shocking Communist activities in the administration of relief that at the next session of the Legislature a joint committee on un-American activities was created. Since 1939 the California Legislature has had a committee on un-American activities functioning continuously.

Members of the Legislature who have served on these committees are: Samuel W. Yorty, Jack B. Tenney, the late Lee Bashore, Chester Gannon, James H. Phillips, Hugh M. Burns, Nelson S. Dilworth, Jesse Randolph Kellems, Randall F. Dickey, Fred H. Kraft, Frank L. Gordon, Harold F. Sawallisch, John F. Thompson, Louis G. Sutton, Clyde A. Watson, Nathan F. Coombs, and Earl Desmond. R. E. Combs, of Visalia, has acted as chief counsel for the committees since 1939.

There is nothing new about legislative investigating committees. They have existed since colonial times as necessary adjuncts to the legislative system. Through these committees, which are in no sense courts of law, legislative bodies are able to inform themselves on matters concerning which they may be required to act. The legal authority for such committees in this State is found in Article 4, Section 37 of the State Constitution.

There have been many state and federal supreme court decisions solidly upholding the fundamental right of legislative bodies to ascertain facts through investigating committees. In a highly developed social system with its complexity of problems, the public interest demands that legislators keep themselves accurately and currently informed. Through investigating committees the Legislature studies the problems affecting the welfare of the people in the State—problems dealing with taxation, highways, irrigation, agriculture, insurance, welfare, labor, corporations, banking, and a wide variety of other subjects. As conditions change, new committees are created to study new problems.

Prior to 1920 there was no Communist Party in the United States. Until about 1940 it was tolerated as a sort of minor irritant; a nuisance not to be taken too seriously. During this era of apathy, from 1920 to 1939, the Communists in California were generally regarded as wild-eyed revolutionaries who were too erratic and unstable to constitute a serious threat against our general welfare. There were some, of course, who regarded Communism as a grave menace in those days, but such persons were few and were themselves generally regarded as alarmists.

As the investigations progressed from 1939 and were continued through 1943, more and more people began to realize that the Communist Party was simply the American section of an international Communist conspiracy, dedicated to world domination by fair means or foul. The business of investigating Communism was decidedly less popular 10 years ago than it is today.

Through constant exposure and publicity the public generally has realized that the fight against Communism is a fight to the finish, not only in California but throughout the civilized world. As Dr. J. B. Matthews aptly put it:

“The most illiberal, unprogressive movement in the world today is the international Communist movement. It is a throwback to the dark ages; it is the denial of every principle of liberalism and progressivism. It has nothing in common with either one. If Communism spreads throughout the world, if the Communists achieve their objective of world domination, there is an absolute certainty that a slave society, the like of which the world has never known, even in the most primitive times, would be established.”

Since California has the dubious distinction of having more Communists within its borders than any other state except New York, the constant investigation and exposure of Communist activities by a legislative committee is quite natural.

There is, of course, a great difference between a committee on un-American activities and a committee dealing with, say, insurance or irrigation. Whereas the other committees deal with normal subjects of legislative interest, the committee on un-American activities is compelled to deal with a branch of an international subversive movement; a conspiracy whose every action is clothed in secrecy. Such a committee must deal with witnesses who are taught to lie under oath, to evade, dissemble and use every device to thwart the committee's objectives. A galaxy of pro-Communist lawyers is constantly employing every trick available from the extensive Communist repertoire to disrupt hearings and turn the committee forum into a platform from which they seek to spread Marxian propaganda at every opportunity.

The atmosphere in which a committee on un-American activities operates is certainly challenging and stimulating, but it is also decidedly aggravating and unpleasant at times.

The chairman of the committee is the main target for a ceaseless tirade of abuse—both from the extreme right and the extreme left. He is expected to have an iron constitution, a sense of humor, seriousness of purpose, judicial calm, a ready wit, the patience of Job, the tact of a diplomat, the courage of a crusading legionaire, and the tenderness of a director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Such estimable characteristics are seldom found combined in one man.

Since the 1943, 1945 and 1947 reports are now out of print, it may be well to say a word about the early work of the committee. While

most of the investigations and hearings have dealt with Communism because the committee deems Communism the most serious subversive threat, considerable attention has also been devoted to other subjects. The committee exposed and broke up the Italian fascist organization in San Francisco. It exposed and broke up the Friends of Progress, a pro-Nazi, pro-Japanese organization in Southern California. It held a series of hearings concerning a subversive movement known as Mankind United—those exposures resulting in the liquidation of this million-dollar organization which comprised thirteen thousand members in California. The committee investigated and exposed the activities of subversive German bunds and Japanese organizations during the last war. It investigated and exposed the Ku Klux Klan in California, and scores of lesser subversive fronts and organizations, all of which groups are considered by this committee to be Un-American.

In 1941-1943 the committee had two full-time investigators. Since 1943 it has operated with only one, in addition to Mr. Combs, who directs the investigations and conducts the committee's hearings.

During the past three or four years the committee and its attaches have sponsored a series of counter-subversive seminars in some of the larger California cities. This program, conducted jointly with the Americanism Commission of the American Legion and on two occasions with the State Adjutant General and the California Defense and Security Corps, has proven enormously successful.

In the belief that through these seminars accurate information concerning Communism and Communist activities can be disseminated to peace officers, educators, patriotic organizations, service clubs and other appropriate groups, the committee has assembled a group of lecturers who are widely recognized as experts in their respective fields. Each lecture is usually followed by a question period, and the general result of this program has indeed been most encouraging.

These seminars have been held in Oakland, Los Angeles, San Diego, La Jolla, Santa Barbara, Fresno, Modesto, the Presidio of San Francisco, Fort MacArthur at San Pedro, at the Fairfield-Suisun Air Force Base, and at Mather Air Force Base. The lecturers have included ex-agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, various specialists in intelligence and counter-espionage work, former members of the Communist Party and members of the staff of this committee.

There are many official agencies investigating Communist activities. The Central Intelligence Agency is primarily concerned with gathering information concerning such activities abroad. On the domestic scene there is the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Counter-Intelligence Corps of the Army, the Office of Naval Intelligence, the Office of Special Investigations of the Air Force, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and others—all concerned, within their several limited jurisdictions, with the investigation of Communist activities.

There is, however, a great and highly important distinction between these agencies and legislative committees. The federal agencies are not permitted to make public the results of their work, except in the most

general terms. Their function is to accumulate pertinent data, sometimes for preparing cases for the Department of Justice to prosecute, but more often simply to keep abreast of conditions as they develop. The prime function of a state legislative committee, on the other hand, is to publicly expose Communist organizations and activities within the state, and to periodically summarize the results of its work for the state legislature. The weapon of public exposure when used against subversive and conspiratorial organizations that operate most efficiently under a cloak of secrecy, is a powerful weapon, indeed. On this subject J. Edgar Hoover said in March of this year:

"I think the public has been educated to a great extent, legislative investigating committees and the press have helped in the process of educating the public." (*U. S. News and World Report*, March 30, 1951, page 35)

The first report on un-American activities in California was submitted by the Yorty committee in 1941. Since that time reports have been made in 1943, 1945, 1947, 1948, and 1949. All of these reports, except those for 1948 and 1949, are completely out of print and the supply of 1948 reports is rapidly being depleted. In view of that fact the present report, which was written by Mr. Combs, the committee's counsel, contains a master index covering all reports from 1943 to 1951, inclusive.

It should be made clear that this committee has never held a hearing, even in closed session, without first checking with all other official agencies that might in any way be affected. This is done to make certain that the committee's disclosures will not prove embarrassing to investigations being conducted simultaneously on the same general subject.

The files, records, documents and evidence accumulated during the past 12 years are made available only to proper official investigative agencies and are kept current from day to day. It may be appropriate to add at this point that the various official agencies are constantly consulting the committee's files in their effort to accumulate information concerning Communist activities in general.

Since the 11 members of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States were convicted for conspiring to teach and advocate the unlawful overthrow of our government, the U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that federal investigative agencies such as grand juries cannot compel a witness to answer questions concerning his Communist activities. This turns on the basic principle that the answers might make the witness liable to prosecution under federal law and he would therefore be compelled to incriminate himself.

Recently, however, the courts have made a clear distinction between questions asked by grand juries and quasi-judicial bodies on the one hand, and questions asked by legislative investigating committees on the other. This distinction is based on two legal principles: (1) That if it is not against the law for a person to be a Communist in a certain state, he cannot incriminate himself by answering questions concerning his Communist affiliations and activities, and, (2) that since witnesses cannot be prosecuted (at least in California) for crimes admitted in the course of



answering the questions of a legislative committee, there could be no subsequent prosecution in any event, since immunity from such prosecution is specifically conferred by statute. This statutory immunity is, in turn, based upon the concept that in ascertaining information for the benefit of the people as a whole, individual rights must sometimes be subordinated to the welfare of the public. The U. S. Supreme Court had this problem squarely before it in an appeal by a witness convicted of contempt by the Un-American Activities Committee in the State of Washington, and denied the appeal in a ruling filed in April, 1951. The case is reported in 221 Pac. (2d) 482.





# COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SCHOOLS

## COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Ever since the formation of the Comintern in Russia, in 1919, as a high board of strategy for world revolution, the international Communist movement has regarded the youth of every country in the world as a prime source for the purpose of keeping young and impressionable people moving into the ranks of the Communist Party. In order to combat the infiltration of undercover Party members in schools and colleges throughout the Country, it is absolutely essential for educational administrators to understand the basic objectives of international Communism and of the American section of the world Communist movement. Secondly, they must familiarize themselves with the recruiting techniques employed by undercover Communist teachers, and thirdly, how best to expose and remove them from the faculty.

On October 2, 1920, Lenin addressed the third all-Russian congress of the Young Communist League. Speaking primarily on the subject of ethics and morality, Lenin said :

“We repudiate all morality that is taken outside of human, class concepts. We say that this is deception, a fraud, which clogs the brains of the workers and the peasants in the interest of the landlords and the capitalists.

“We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is deduced from the class struggle of the proletariat.

“The Young Communist League will justify its name as the League of the young Communist generation when it links up every step in its tuition, training and education with participation in the struggle of all the toilers against the exploiters: for you know perfectly well that as long as Russia remains the only worker’s republic and the old bourgeois system continues in the rest of the world, we shall be weaker than they; we shall be under the constant menace of attack. Only if we learn to be compact and united shall we win in future struggles, and, having become stronger, become really invincible. Thus, to be a Communist means that you must organize and unite the whole of the rising generation and set an example of training and discipline in the struggle. Then you will be able to start building the edifice of Communist society and bring it to completion.”

*(From V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Volume IX, International Publishers, New York, pages 467-483.)*

In order to show how rapidly the indoctrination of Russian youth progressed immediately following the revolution of 1917, we find that the Young Communist League in October, 1918, at a congress held in Moscow, represented 22,000 members. At the second congress, held the following year, there were 96,000 represented; at the third congress, in 1920, 400,000; and by 1935, 5,500,000 young Russians had been organized in the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union.

There is some peculiar element in the makeup of the leaders of Russian Communism that impels them to insist that all activities of foreign Communist parties be slavishly patterned on the Russian prototype—and the Communist youth organizations abroad were no exceptions. Originally the youth organization in the Soviet Union was divided into two general categories: The Young Communist League itself, which comprised the older members of the youth organization, and the Young Pioneers, which took care of the kiddies and the teen-agers. In the United States an exact duplicate of this organizational system was followed, and the names "Young Communist League" and "Young Pioneers" were used in this Country precisely as they were used in Russia.

When the Communist International was formed in 1919, one of its most important subdivisions was called the Red Trade Union International, and through it membership was recruited into the Communist Party from the ranks of the trade unions in the United States and elsewhere throughout the world. The next most important subdivision of the Comintern was the Young Communist International, which had for its purpose, of course, the recruiting of youth. As long as the American people remained apathetic concerning the rise of Communism, the Young Communist League functioned in this Country with a sort of brazen effrontery, and continued to do so until the American people realized that here indeed was an organization which was simply a division of the American Communist Party which, in turn, was merely a section of the world Communist movement, under the complete direction of the Third International, or Comintern, in Russia.

When it became necessary for the Young Communist League to soft-pedal its activities, a number of similar organizations were created which, under the guise of mass youth organizations without any Marxian tinge, carried on the recruiting work at the same time the Young Communist League was performing that work more openly. One of these early organizations was known as the National Student League, which has been well described by Eugene Lyons in his book, *The Red Decade*, as follows:

"From the day of its formation the Communist International has aimed to indoctrinate the young. The Fascists and the Nazis were merely copying bolshevik methods and forming special groupings for every division of youth, from the cradle to enrollment in the adult organization. Wherever there is a Communist party there are always Young Pioneers, Young Communist Leagues or equivalent organizations. Like their elder national sections, they take their ideas, their songs, their changing programs from the respective

Internationals with headquarters in Moscow. And where the Communists' approach to youth could not be made openly, some transmission-belt device has been employed.

"In the American colleges, the National Student League was generally and rightly identified as the Communist campus vehicle, as distinguished from the Student League for Industrial Democracy, dominated by the Socialists.

"In the last days of December, 1932, the Communist National Student League staged a student congress against war at the University of Chicago. The effort was a direct follow-up of Stalin's Amsterdam show, with many of the same leaders taking part. \* \* \*

"We now come to the birth of the American Youth Congress. Its origin has been shrouded in lies by the later attempts to hide the Communist leading strings. The facts of its founding are simple enough:

"An energetic young woman named Viola Ilma promoted the idea of a national federation of existing youth groups. Miss Ilma and her backers said they wanted to bring a measure of stability to the country's young people to offset cynicism and nihilistic disillusionment. The mistake they made, from their own vantage point, was to attempt the impossible job of federating everything from the Boy Scouts and Junior Leaguers to the Communists. Theoretically, this seemed generous and broadminded. As a practical matter it meant that one tendency or another would seize control.

"When the American Youth Congress met in New York August 15-17, 1934, the more seasoned and dynamic politicians of the left wing took over. The Communists had packed the gathering with full-fledged delegations from chimerical societies. By combining with the Socialists, they captured the congress, kicked out Miss Ilma, and filled the official slates with their own people. It now remained only for the Communists to kick out the Socialists. The job took them several years but was, in the end, fully accomplished. At the second national meeting of the Congress, in Detroit, comrade Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker*, was the speaker who drew the loudest ovation from several thousand delegates and visitors.

"Of the 20,000,000 who made up, roughly, what is called American youth, about 1,000,000 are in colleges and normal schools. The American Student Union never claimed more than 20,000 of this 1,000,000. Its dues-paying adherents at the peak, in December, 1938, were put at 9,000. Of these, perhaps half were either members of the Young Communist League or wholly committed to its program and discipline. But the Y. C. L. had—and has—an absolute grip on the American Student Union, which in turn plays the decisive role in the American Youth Congress, an organization claiming to represent more than 4,000,000, and to speak for all 20,000,000. It all adds up to a perfect demonstration of the capacity of a highly disciplined political machine to work its will on a million-fold amorphous mass of unorganized people.

"The prestige of the American Student Union on the American campus rose rocket-like with the spread of the incredible revolution

of college professors. Always, thus, one department of the aberration dove-tailed into another, multiplying the cumulative effect. In Brooklyn College as many as 48 teachers took part in Communist Party fraction caucuses, out of a faculty of some 300. In dozens of other colleges, the condition was analogous. But large or small, these fractions came in many places to dominate college life since they acted together, supporting one another, and could count on the acquiescence if not support of their own periphery of liberal fellow teachers.

"The young Communist units among the students and the adult Communists among the professors often caucused together. In many schools they were the real power behind the throne. Where they could not cajole an administration into toeing their line, they resorted to brow-beating, campus pickets, organized vituperation of faculty leaders, deans, presidents. They could always count on the unthinking support of liberal weeklies, sentimental columnists, Stalinist-lead locals of the Teachers' Union. Through ignorance or through fear, campus administrations in many places entered into silent partnership with the Communist terror.

"The whole story of that terror has not yet been told. It has barely been suggested in the testimony of the President of Brooklyn College, Dr. Harry B. Gideonse, before a State Legislative Investigating Committee. He told how his efforts to break the Communist grip on his college marked him for fantastic campaigns of picketing, a war of nerves by means of night-time telephone calls and personal insults, political pressure from fellow-travelers in all parts of the school system. A member of his faculty, Dr. Bernard Grebanier, having publicly broken with the Communists, similarly found himself the target of carefully generated attacks. He was ostracized by his former friends, snubbed by former admirers among the students, plastered with outrageous libels on his private life and character. For a time there were also open and partially successful boycotts of his courses.

"Multiply this picture a hundred fold and we have an inkling of the incredible revolution on the campus—whence it made itself felt in youth groups off the campus, by direct and covert control of the Youth Congress. Numerically negligible, the American Student Union yet gave the color of its political views and social attitudes to college life and in large measure to youth movements generally. It had become dominant, arrogant, fashionable.

"Sensational magazines have attempted to explain the phenomenon of Communist penetration of the colleges simply in terms of sex. The explanation is only partly true. Inevitably sex plays a great psychological role in any youth movement. The unorthodox attitudes that go with radicalism help to attract followers for the organization. But sex was only one element, and the smallest, in a larger cultural design.

"The American Student Union gave its followers concrete and convenient answers to pressing questions, in years when depression had stirred up fears and doubts. It gave them a sense of intellectual companionship, in exciting new 'Marxist' jargon, a feeling for the validity and thrill of being alive and being part of an unfolding



historical process. To put the matter bluntly, it gave these young people what a dessicated and routinized and excessively 'modern' curriculum did not. In unit caucuses and cause parties, in picketing and sloganeering, they found the stimulation which apparently they missed."

(*The Red Decade*, by Eugene Lyons, Bobs-Merrill Co., New York, 1941.)

In order to understand the organizational background of this youth movement and the enthusiasm with which its advent was greeted by official Communist spokesmen, we turn now to a report delivered at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, held at Moscow, in August, 1935, by Otto Kuusinen, a man who was later to head Stalin's satellite state of Finland. On that occasion he said:

"Our American comrades achieved a great success at this Youth Congress. The agents of fascism were completely isolated, and the congress was transformed into a great united front congress of the radical youth. And when, somewhat later, a second general youth congress was held, our young comrades already enjoyed a position of authority in it."

By September, 1932, the League had affiliations on more than 100 American college campuses. And the *Daily Worker* stated enthusiastically:

"The League has shown infectious vitality; it has galvanized many inactive liberal clubs into new life and drawn them into its ranks."

(*Daily Worker*, September 28, 1932, page 2.)

In describing the rise of the Communist youth movement Benjamin Gitlow, a charter member of the Party in the United States and a person who, having made several trips to the Soviet Union, was certainly equipped with adequate knowledge to qualify as an expert in the matter, said:

"The young people often joined the party in opposition to their parents. Many came from homes where the parental influence was not very strong. A few were the sons and daughters of party members. They were drawn into a hectic whirl of activity which interlocked with that of the party, mingling and rubbing shoulders with the older party members. A member of the Young Workers' (later Communist) League soon became so engrossed in the life of the league and the party that he cut loose from all family ties. He was greatly impressed by what went on all around him and imitated what he believed was the accepted Communist thing to do. Our young member soon changed not only his mode of dress but his demeanor as well, and his head became stuffed with Communist phrases and ideologies, he lost all his youthful attributes, turning into a hard, sophisticated cynic who knew the alpha and omega of all questions confronting the troubled world. The youthful Communist ended by becoming the most conceited and intolerant person one could meet. The young Communists, drawn into a life of their own, sure of their own importance and maturity as Communist leaders of the working

class, fell easy prey to all the vices of the party, which to them were not vices but expressions of rebellion against bourgeois society and the hypocrisy of bourgeois morals.

"They broke with their families because the family was a bourgeois institution which stood in the way of their Communist activities. Many completely divorced themselves from their parents. It was not unusual for parents of young Communists to come to our offices, to plead with us that we induce their children to show them some kind of consideration. One case in particular involved the father of one of the leaders of the young Communist movement. His son despised him and would have nothing to do with a father he considered ignorant and a sentimental, petty-bourgeois. The father spoke to me for hours, tried to explain that he loved his son more than anything in the world, that he was a hard-working man and has made tremendous sacrifices to give him an education. Perhaps I could persuade the young man to at least greet him and show him some of the courtesy due a father. He said: 'I am now getting on in years. You know what a worker can expect. But, believe me, I don't want a penny from my son.'

"Very often mothers would come into the office, complaining that their young daughters failed to come home at night and that they had lost all influence over them. One mother explained: 'My daughter is only fifteen. Before she joined the Young Communists she was a very quiet and good girl. But now she is different. She smokes. When I tell her something she laughs and tells me I am ignorant and think like a bourgeois. She has neglected her school and studies. She is seldom home. When she does come, it is around two or three o'clock in the morning.'

"We knew the situation very well, but the complaints and pleadings fell on deaf ears. Another tragic case occurred at the national offices in Chicago. An irate father came into the office and deposited an infant on a desk. He shouted: 'Here, take your bastard!'

"The child was the infant of a sixteen year old girl who had been seduced by one of the Party's leaders.

"Loose morals were general. Party leaders changed their wives sometimes as often as one does an overcoat. The young Communists had but to see what their elders in the movement were doing. It is no wonder that they defied all moral codes. If a young girl who joined the Communist youth organization insisted upon maintaining her chastity, she was frowned upon as bourgeois by the self-styled revolutionists who had just emerged from their knee britches. Many of the young Communists considered the giving up of one's chastity as a mark of distinction. Young Communists did not long remain single, but the common-law marriages between them were, as a rule, short-lived."

(From *I Confess*, by Benjamin Gitlow, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1940).

By 1943 it had become apparent to the Communist Party of the United States that if the Soviet Union was to continue receiving an avalanche of goods from the United States for the purpose of prosecuting the joint war effort it would be necessary to soft-pedal the theretofore

brazen and arrogant activities of the Young Communist League. Browder therefore, obviously working on instructions from above, decided to revolutionize the entire Communist organization in the United States. Accordingly, at a special convention called in New York, the name of the Communist Party was changed to the Communist Political Association, the name of the monthly ideological magazine of the Party, theretofore known as *The Communist*, was changed to *Political Affairs* and the name of the Young Communist League was changed to American Youth for Democracy. It is important to realize, however, that this was merely a political expedient and did not mean that the Party was doing anything except gearing its organizational setup and its above-ground activities in such a way as to create the least offense to American capitalism which was then an important ally of the Soviet Union against Nazi aggression. It should always be borne in mind that the instant the international situation changed with the defeat of the fascist powers, the expulsion of Browder came as a signal for the resumption of the old brazen, militant, anti-American activities on an even more accelerated scale than ever before.

When, by 1949, American Youth for Democracy had been fairly well exposed as nothing more than the Young Communist League functioning under another name, it conveniently folded itself up and immediately emerged again in May of 1949 under the name of the Labor Youth League, which now has clubs functioning on the campuses of colleges, universities, state colleges and junior colleges throughout the Country. The committee has also found, as will be explained in detail later, that the Labor Youth League also had active clubs in a great many high schools in this State.

## RECRUITING TECHNIQUES

There is, naturally, close cooperation between the undercover Communist faculty members on American campuses and members of the Communist youth organizations. In this smoothly-gearred relationship lies a recruiting technique that has not yet been exposed, so far as this committee is aware. This is how it operates: Professor Smith is an undercover Party member at a certain university. He belongs to the professional section of the Communist Party, whose members comprise a few professors, a lawyer or two, a minister, a couple of "liberal" public officials. These men have been instructed to use every precaution to keep their Communist affiliation a close secret. They pose as liberals and are permitted to guardedly criticize the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. They subscribe to no Party literature and avoid contacts with known or suspected Party members. Professor Smith would take a loyalty oath without the slightest hesitation, protesting, however, that it was an invasion of his constitutional rights. In his class on political science, history, or philosophy he carefully avoids any indication that he is a Marxist. He knows, however, that Ben Jones, one of his students, is a young Communist member of the Labor Youth League, and that there

are four others in the same class. These students single out a few of their liberal acquaintances as likely recruits, report to the professor, and the operation commences.

The professor immediately pays little special attentions to the unwitting candidates, gives them better grades than they actually deserve, and when the proper time has arrived he announces that an able young lecturer, recently returned from Europe, is to lecture at the local People's Forum on his experiences in the Balkans and invites any interested members of his class to attend. The five young Comrades, who have meanwhile been working on the unsuspecting candidates, get as many of them as possible to attend the lecture and seat them well down toward the front.

The lecturer, a seasoned and experienced Party member in this technique, has been carefully briefed ahead of time and during the entire course of his lecture looks directly at the little group seated in the front of the auditorium and speaks almost directly to them. Immediately after his lecture he steps down from the platform, walks up to the students, congratulates them on the earnestness with which they listened to his speech, and asks them whether or not they are students at the local university. When he learns that they are taking a political science course from Professor Smith he immediately informs them that Smith is an old friend of his and that he has been invited up to the professor's home for cocktails following the lecture and asks the students whether or not they would care to go along with him. At the professor's home is a group of fetching young women who are members of the Labor Youth League and who have also been well briefed. As the evening wears on and the lecturer tells things off the record that he is sure his elite group will understand but might have been misinterpreted by the rest of the audience at the lecture hall, the professor is beaming with approval and hospitality.

Here, then, off the campus and in an atmosphere that is compatible with the technique which is being employed, the first step in the process of indoctrination is begun. The gloomy, seamy side of American life is carefully criticized, and all agree that there is a great need for better housing, combatting of religious and racial discrimination, and an active and militant opposition to the expenditure of large sums of money for national defense which can be expressed by the forming of student organizations, picket lines and the distribution of pamphlets and propaganda to combat universal military training or any preparation for war on the part of the United States which would involve the student youth of the Country.

In order to carry on these objectives, the prospective recruits are persuaded to join such organizations as the Labor Youth League, Students for Wallace, or the Young Progressive Students of America—all of which are represented simply as broad liberal organizations without any trace of Communist infiltration. Such organizations are invariably controlled by a small group of highly trained and skilled Communist



Party members who, from a safe vantage point on the outside of the organizations and removed from the university campus, are in constant contact with a handful of members of the Labor Youth League who actually dominate and run these organizations.

As the little handful of unsuspecting students are drawn deeper and deeper into the constant activity of liberal student organizations and are thrown more and more intimately into contact with Professor Smith and the members of the Labor Youth League who are continually spurring them on to attend lectures and forums, discussion groups, meetings of liberal student organizations, encouraging them to participate in the picket lines, the distribution of pamphlets and leaflets and all of the other constant round of activities into which they have been plunged, more and more emphasis is placed on Marxism, and the students are thus drawn by subtle degrees closer and closer to affiliation with the Labor Youth League as the first step toward recruitment into the Communist Party itself. If one or two of the little group in Professor Smith's class can be recruited into the Communist Party and politically developed into highly-trained and disciplined Communist Party members, the entire operation has been eminently successful.

Thus, contrary to the opinions of most laymen, Communism is seldom advocated in the classroom by undercover members of college faculties. Such advocacy would obviously expose the ideological leanings of the teacher, make him vulnerable to expulsion from the faculty and thereby render his usefulness to the Party at an end. By using the technique described above, the professor can operate in comparative safety and the indoctrination which is initiated off the campus is eventually turned over to the members of the Young Communist League, or Labor Youth League as it is now called, on the campus and the actual indoctrination from that point on is left entirely in their hands, with guidance from the professor and his superiors in the Communist Party who are particularly adept at this subtle technique.

## CONSTANT INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

It should be emphasized at this point that in spite of the fact that the Young Communist League in the United States has changed its name twice, having been known as American Youth for Democracy and now as the Labor Youth League, it is directed from the Soviet Union through the National Committee of the Communist Party in the United States. In order to document the never-changing aims and objectives of the Communist youth organizations in this Country, it is appropriate at this point to quote from an extremely rare and little-known document entitled *Program of the Young Communist International*, which was issued by the Young Communist League of America, 43 E. 125th Street, New York, N. Y., and which was printed in England by the Doret Press, 68-70 Land Street, London SE 1. This booklet sets forth the program of the Young Communist International, as a subdivision of the Russian

Comintern, and ever since its publication it has been and it still is the basic guide for young Communist organizations throughout the world, and particularly in the United States which is, of course, the most powerful capitalist country which exists today.

Quoting from page 44 of this highly important document, we find a characteristic description of a war which may be waged against the Soviet Union, and characteristic propaganda aimed at the young Marxists throughout the world. It reads as follows:

“It is necessary to differentiate between three kinds of war:

(a) Wars carried on by the imperialist states between themselves; (b) National revolutionary liberation wars—above all in the colonies and semi-colonies; (c) Wars of the capitalist counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution, as well as of the capitalist states against countries where the proletarian revolution has been victorious.

“The Communists are deadly enemies of imperialist war and fight with the greatest determination against the imperialist war danger and the imperialist wars themselves. But they give their utmost support to national revolutionary uprisings and to the wars of the oppressed peoples, especially in the colonies and semi-colonies against imperialism. They organize and lead the revolutionary war of the working class against the capitalistic counter-revolution, and of the Socialist Soviet Republics against the imperialist powers, who are constantly plotting attacks on the Soviet republics with the aim of destroying them. The Communists publicly declare that, in order to overthrow the capitalist system and establish the proletarian dictatorship, the armed uprising of the proletariat is necessary. Only by the victory of proletarian arms, by the formation of a Red army and the armed defense of the achievements of the revolution against all attempts of the bourgeoisie will the proletariat gradually be able to lead mankind toward a classless society in which the use of arms will be a thing forgotten.

“If for the protection of the proletarian dictatorship—a transitional stage towards a classless Communist society, a society without wars, the workers must be armed and organized in a Red army, this army is, according to its role and class-consciousness entirely different from any bourgeois army. The Red army is the armed working class which, together with the toiling peasantry defends the domination of its own class, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peaceful construction of socialism. Only toilers have the honor and right to serve in it. Its commanders come from the same class as the soldiers; voluntary comradeship reigns in its ranks, and it is itself one of the most powerful means for the education and cultural development of the toiling masses.

“The Young Communist League considers the struggle against imperialist war one of the chief aims of its existence. The Communists exert all forces to prevent imperialist wars from breaking out, by mobilizing the masses for mass action against war and by work inside the armies themselves. In the event of the proletariat lacking the necessary strength to prevent or delay the imperialist war breaking out, Communists work with the utmost energy for the transformation

of the imperialist war into a civil war in order to overthrow imperialism by means of a victorious proletarian revolution.

"In the struggle against imperialist war by means of a mass action of the working class, Communists propagate also mass strikes and a general strike. However, the transformation of the general strike slogan from a propaganda slogan into an immediate slogan of action depends upon circumstances, since the Communists clearly recognize that a general strike for the prevention of war immediately raises the question of power and of an armed clash with the imperialist state apparatus.

"The Communists, however, decisively declare themselves for the defense of a revolutionary socialist fatherland against imperialism. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the socialist fatherland of the toilers of the whole world. Communists likewise recognize the revolutionary right and duty of national defense against imperialism for the rebellious oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. In a struggle between the imperialist powers and the Socialist Soviet Republics, or a war against a national revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples, the working class must fight for the victory of the revolutionary side, and work not only for the fraternization but for the going over of the troops of the imperialist powers to the side of the revolution."

Elsewhere in this document the primary objectives of the Young Communist Organization, whatever its current name may be, in opposing the defense and military preparation of the country in which it operates, is summed up as follows:

"(a) Defense of the Soviet Union against the attacks of the capitalists.

"(b) Active participation in the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism.

"(c) Revolutionary work in the bourgeois army through the organization of nuclei, revolutionary circles and groups, i.e., work among the recruits and regular troops, among organizations for military training; educational propaganda against war, militarism, and the utilization of the army in the service of capitalism.

"(d) Struggle against the militarization of the youth, carried on by the bourgeoisie. This militarization is carried out in various forms, the most important of which are the measures for the military training of the youth.

"(e) Struggle for the political and economic rights of the soldiers.

"(f) The struggle against the military organizations (Fascist Militia, National Defense Corps, Stahlhelm, Reichsbanner, Schutzbund, etc.), which are especially established by the bourgeoisie for the oppression of the proletariat, and for which the reactionary military and nationalist youth organizations serve as reserves. In the event of an imperialist war they are called upon by the bourgeoisie as auxiliary military forces. The Young Communist League, together with the Communist Party, struggles for their disarmament and sets

up special proletarian defense organizations for the protection of the working class.

“(g) Work in war industries. The decisive role of industry in the coming imperialist wars, demands without delay, systematic organized activity among the young workers in the war industries, (engineering, chemical industry, transport, etc.), so that Communist groups can be formed in these industries.

“The Young Communist League conducts extensive propaganda and agitation among the broad masses of the working youth, and especially among those toilers in the army, for the general and partial demands against militarism.”

Thus it is plain to be seen that the young members of the Labor Youth League are first told that any war which is waged against the Soviet Union must be defined as an imperialist war—a form of war which must be opposed with all of the means at their command. The bourgeoisie, frequently mentioned in Party documents, is a term which is applied to all non-Communists, the proletariat referring to Communist Party members and sympathizers. It will also be seen by a careful analysis of the foregoing quotations that it is a part of the duty of all young Communists and their adult comrades of the Party to lend assistance to oppressed colonial peoples throughout the world who may be the subject of attack by what the Communists refer to as bourgeoisie or imperialist forces. This, of course, would apply to the conflict currently being waged in Indonesia as well as to justify the intervention of the Chinese Communists in the Korean conflict.

At universities and colleges throughout California, the committee has long been familiar with student organizations, Communist-dominated, whose activities are geared to the program of the Young Communist International as above set forth. The committee has in its files, stacks of leaflets, pamphlets and other propaganda material that is constantly being disseminated on and off the campuses of California educational institutions which seek to carry out the exact anti-defense program in complete accord with the direction set forth in the document from which the above excerpts were taken.

By the recruiting technique which has been described, a great mass of young and impressionable people is constantly being drawn into the ranks of the Communist Party. These young people, who are drawn into the liberal youth organizations and through them into the Communist Party, are the people who eventually are developed into the Alger Hisses, the Clarence Hiskeys, the Leon Wofsys, and other young people who eventually are indoctrinated and fanaticized to the degree that they willingly turn over the most precious and sensitive secrets of their own Country to Communist couriers for transmission to the Soviet Union.



## THE LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE

Since the current Communist youth organization is the Labor Youth League, let us examine the character of this extremely active student organization for the purpose of seeing whether or not it conforms to the basic directives issued from the Soviet Union through the program of the Young Communist International, referred to above. By way of background it should be pointed out that during the spring of 1949 an energetic young Party member by the name of Leon Wofsy, chairman of the national organizing conference for the Labor Youth League, came to California from New York. His purpose was to stimulate interest in launching a national campaign to recruit students to Communism. Wofsy had had considerable experience in this field. In 1937 he was an officer of the high school section of the American Student Union at New Haven, Connecticut. In 1941 he was president of the Marxist Cultural Society at New York City College, a section of the Young Communist League. In 1942 he was an officer of the New York section of American Youth for Democracy, became its national executive secretary and played an important part in building the organization to a position of extreme importance by 1943. When American Youth for Democracy was dissolved, in 1948, Wofsy became National Youth Director for the Communist Party. Since 1937, when he was a member of the National Executive Committee of the American Student Union, serving with such well-known Communists as Celeste Strack—who was later educational director of the Party in California—Wofsy has risen high in Communist circles. The May 21, 1949, issue of the *New Leader*, page 3, summarized Wofsy's current work as follows:

"The Communists have new plans for American Youth. A rehash of the Young Communist League will foster exclusive Party activities, the Young Progressives of America is all set for 'united front' social and athletic projects; and the Communist Party's youth commission will soon move into some of America's most strategic plants and factories.

"The new youth outfit will get its formal send off at a meeting in Chicago on Memorial Day week-end.

"These facts emerged from a secret meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, held January 24, to plot Communist Party youth strategy.

"At the January 24 meeting Wofsy called upon Communist Party trade union leaders to form youth clubs within their unions.

"Communist Party workers will now invade youth movements on an unparalleled scale. New 'Marxist debating societies' on campuses, new clubs and strategic national security plants for educational and agit-prop work, the Young Progressives as a social-athletic base, and the 'new look' Young Communist League, will form the Kremlin's wedge in the ranks of American youth."

Wofsy was scheduled to lecture in San Francisco on March 25, 1949, under the auspices of the Council of Student and Youth Clubs of the Communist Party of San Francisco County. Announcement of the event

appeared in a student school publication in San Francisco. While he was in California, Wofsy conferred with the young Communist leaders and Communist Party functionaries concerning a meeting in New York slated for May 30, 1949, and the Chicago conference above-mentioned.

### ORGANIZED AT CHICAGO, 1949

The convention was actually held in the People's Auditorium in Chicago, on May 28 and 29, 1949. Wofsy presided, and as a result of the conference headquarters for the new organization, the Labor Youth League, was established at 799 Broadway, Room 314, New York City 3, New York. A pamphlet was issued which consisted of a report by Wofsy in which he described the basic aims and objectives of the new organization. Among other things, this is what he reported :

"The Labor Youth League stands against the big business tycoons whose system exists by war and human misery. It opposes Wall Street's preparations for a third world war. It opposes reaction's drive to fascism. It opposes all efforts to militarize America's young people and to poison their minds. It combats every form of chauvinism, war mongering, white supremacy, religious bigotry, anti-semitism, labor-baiting and anti-communism.

"The Labor Youth League strives for friendship between the United States of America and the USSR as the cornerstone of lasting peace. It also builds friendship and solidarity with the democratic youth of all nations, united in their determination for peace and in their hatred for imperialism and colonial oppression.

"The Labor Youth League calls on youth to defend, support and build the trade unions. It calls for a vigorous defense of the economic rights and interests of working youth, threatened by mounting unemployment and developing economic crisis. It opposes every kind of special exploitation of young workers, whether through wage discrimination, speed-up, or child labor.

"Because of the very nature of our organization, we will develop the warmest fraternal relations with the Communist Party which is leading party of the American working class. No one can learn about Marxism, without getting to know how and by whom Marxist policies are applied from day to day in the interests of our country and its people. We know that our young people will have much to learn from the Communist Party, from Foster, and from the heroic twelve on trial. Our fraternal relations with the Communist Party are, of course, not in contradiction to, but a further expression of the independence of our organization for the Communists are on principle against control of the youth. Those whose Marxist outlook makes them the best friends and teachers of the young people have no reason to fear the independence of youth. No doubt, witch-hunters will try to distort the character of our organization, to distort the fact that thousands of non-Communist youth will join in building and leading our organization."

It was not long after the organization of the Labor Youth League at the Chicago convention that the Communist Party of the United States,

speaking through its national committee, not only tipped its hat in reply to the declaration of the Labor Youth League that it was necessarily closely linked to the Party, but issued a mandate to all of the Party officials throughout the United States to lend every facility of the Party to the building of the new youth organization. In the July, 1949, issue of *Political Affairs*, the monthly publication of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, the following statements appeared:

"The National Committee of the Communist Party hailed the Memorial Day meeting held in Chicago by a group of young Americans who enthusiastically set in motion a plan of action bright with promise for the future of American youth and of our country."

"We hail the clear vision of these young people, whose patriotism and devotion to our country's best traditions inspire them with determination to help assure that the youth of America shall not go the way of the Hitler youth."

"We deeply appreciate the desire of these young workers to learn from the Communist Party and to study Marxist principles. We will welcome the building of warm fraternal relations with their new organization along the lines they indicated in Chicago."

After these polite interchanges of compliments and offers of mutual aid and assistance, the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States enjoined its leaders throughout the country as follows:

"The Communist Party calls on all Party organizations, leaders and members, on all progressive trade unions and other people's organizations, to give these young people full support in realizing the goals set in Chicago."

"Every district of our Party should especially help the youth guarantee that the organizing drive for a Labor Youth League begins at once, and takes the form of intensified mass activity among the youth, with special concern for the needs of the working-class youth and the negro youth. The goal of a hundred charter clubs, to be formed by July 4, should serve as a stimulus to increased activity around the most burning issues facing the youth."

"Many of the National Committee members now on trial for teaching the world-liberating principles of Marxism-Leninism were educated in the spirit of Socialism by the Young Communist League. It is clear that the projected new youth organization does not aim to become a duplicate of the former Y. C. L., but we anticipate that it will take inspiration from the great contributions which the Y. C. L. made to the labor and progressive movements of the early thirties."

"This decision to advance the education of American youth in the spirit of Socialism is itself a challenge to fascist reaction, whose political heresy frame-up is an attempt to outlaw all democratic thought. Working-class principles in the Marxist social science of mankind's liberation will live and flower in this young generation of Americans, who educate themselves for the future, confident that the future will be theirs. Signed National Committee, Communist

Party, William C. Foster, Chairman; Eugene Dennis, General Secretary.”

Among those who attended the Chicago meeting in May, 1949, at which the Labor Youth League was launched were the following from California: Phil Bock, Frank Munoz, Estelle Parness, John Conley, Ted Wright, and Bunny Luks. Their attendance at the meeting was announced in the folder issued by the Labor Youth League in June of 1949, and being in the nature of a report and a call for the meeting in Los Angeles County at which the organization was to be launched in Southern California. This folder, which is in the possession of the committee, states that the Southern California meeting would be held at 4016 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles, California, on Sunday, June 26, 1949, from 10 a.m. until 4 p.m.

By April, 1950, the Labor Youth League had attained a membership of 6,000 young Americans throughout the United States. This was revealed in the testimony of Matthew Cvetich, who for a considerable period of time did undercover work for the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a Communist Party member, and his testimony described how organizers for the Labor Youth League had made a particular effort to secure its members in high schools and colleges. The list recited the fact that Alameda County, California, had 666 Labor Youth League members, Los Angeles County 467, and San Francisco County 86. The committee has learned that since the date these figures were released the organization has carried on a most intensive membership drive which has greatly swelled the number of students who have been recruited into this organization.

### ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA

In Southern California, the Los Angeles organizing committee for the Labor Youth League opened its offices at 232 South Hill Street, Room 205, Los Angeles 12, and from that address sent out a flood of Christmas cards which stated on the front cover “World Youth Unity for Peace,” and on the inside of the card picturing a procession of young people from the various countries of the world carrying this slogan: “Let us all work in 1950 for world peace, outlawing the atom bomb, American-Soviet friendship, trade with New China.”

As a further example of the recruiting techniques employed by this new Communist youth organization, it circulated a large number of mimeographed programs at the football game between the University of Southern California and Oregon in 1949, the front cover of this folder showing a man dressed in a Trojan warrior's uniform, the inside carrying the lineup of the Trojan and Oregon football teams, and also this message by Leon Wofsy, as Chairman of the National Organizing Conference for a Labor Youth League:

“Cheering for your team? You probably are. It's an American tradition and right to champion the side in which you believe—whether it be a football team or a political belief. Yet, at this moment, eleven men are in jail, refused even the elementary right of bail,



simply for advocating a belief. Yesterday, the eleven national leaders of the Communist Party were convicted to long prison terms and were required to pay exorbitant fines. They were not charged with any crime, but have been accused because they were defending the rights of the American people; the right of free speech, free assembly, and the right to choose political beliefs of one's own choosing. The greedy financial interests and their military allies must wipe out all opposition in their drive to lower our living standards and create a third world war.

"Does this pattern sound familiar to you? It should. A man named Hitler used it effectively not too long ago. The deadly parallel will continue unless we stand up now and demand that our civil rights be restored! Send post-cards and telegrams to President Truman and Attorney-General McGrath demanding bail for the eleven Communist leaders!

"In our organization, youth will be able to learn what socialism is, as contrasted with capitalism. Youth will be able to learn the new vs. the old, emancipation vs. enslavement. Socialism is the system built by the workers, who then own the mills, the factories, and all the other means of production on behalf of society.

"Production no longer is for profits for the few; no man can get rich on the labor of another. Whereas, capitalism is forced to stand against the oceans of progress, to resist the very productive forces it has unleashed—socialism opens the gates toward unlimited progress, toward mastery over nature, toward meeting the economic, social and cultural needs of the people. Socialism provides lasting peace and freedom, because it is a classless society and does not contain within itself forces that benefit from need, or can bring about war and oppression.

Leon Wofsy, Chairman of the National Organizing Conference of a Labor Youth League.

"A fact: The Communist Party was charged with conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence, but not once in the entire trial did the prosecution present the slightest evidence that the Communist Party advocates the violent overthrow of the government!

"Send a wire or letter to President Truman demanding that he free the twelve Communist leaders!

"Issued by: Student Division, Labor Youth League, 233 South Broadway, Room 207."

Phil Bock, 4213 Yosemite Way, Los Angeles, California, who played such an interesting and influential part in the launching of the new youth organization, was not exactly inexperienced in matters of this type. He was elected a member of the Los Angeles County Executive Committee of the Communist Party on Sunday, June 27, 1949, and as youth representative of the Los Angeles Communist Party's midtown section in Los Angeles County. He was jailed for refusing to testify before the Los Angeles County Federal Grand Jury regarding Communist activities in 1949, and picketed on behalf of the 11 members of the Communist Party of the United States who were on trial in Foley

Square, New York, charged with conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Bock was a Communist delegate from California to the first national encampment of the Communist veterans of World War II, which was to be held in Washington, D. C., on May 8 and 9 of 1947. Paul Robeson was scheduled to speak at this affair, the main address was to be delivered by William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party, and the delegates were to represent 15,000 veterans who were members of the Communist Party and had served in the army during the last war. Others who were to attend included Andrew Remes, Seattle, Washington, who was a sergeant in the army's chemical warfare service in Alaska; Ed Alexander, who was assistant editor of the *China-Burma-India Roundup*, an army publication; Carl Yoneda, who served in the Office of Strategic Service during the war. Others from California included Archie Brown, State Trade Union Director of the Communist Party in 1947; Bock, who in that year was county Youth Director for the Communist Party of Los Angeles County; John Stapp, organizer for the Communist Party in Hollywood, and Herbert Nugent, waterfront organizer for the Communist Party of San Francisco. (See *Daily People's World*, May 5, 1947, Page 4, Column 1). In 1948, according to the *Hollywood Citizen-News* of November 8, 1948, Bock was Youth Director for the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, and according to testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1949 he was active in the Civil Rights Congress and was also chairman of the Youth Division of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County.

Estelle Parness, according to evidence introduced before the committee, was a student at the University of California in Los Angeles in 1949 and attended the organizing conference for the Labor Youth League in Chicago on May 30th of that year and was also active in organizing the Los Angeles branch of the Labor Youth League in June of 1949. She has played an active role in political matters on the U. C. L. A. campus.

David Curland, another U. C. L. A. student, played a prominent part in picketing the Westwood barber shop near the U. C. L. A. campus in August of 1948, and at that time was president of the Students for Wallace organization on the U. C. L. A. campus. (See *Daily People's World*, August 17, 1948, page 5, column 1). He also attended a meeting at Exposition Park for the purpose of organizing the Labor Youth League at the University of Southern California and attended the meeting in June of 1949 on South Central Avenue at which the organization was started in Southern California.

Another key figure in the new Communist youth organization was a woman commonly known in Communist circles as Vicki Landish, and whose legal name is Mrs. Vicki Landish Fromkin. Mrs. Fromkin's record in Communist organizational activities is long and varied. She was a former organizer for the Young Communist League in Berkeley, California, and after she moved to Los Angeles was arrested for having participated in the strike at Warner Brothers Studio in October of 1945.

She is a University of California graduate and was most active in an organizational capacity for American Youth for Democracy which, as will be remembered, was the young Communist organization which immediately preceded the Labor Youth League. According to the *Daily People's World*, July 20, 1946, page 1, column 4, Mrs. Fromkin was a speaker for American Youth for Democracy on an occasion when representatives of various civic organizations called on Mayor Fletcher Bowron, of Los Angeles, and protested against discrimination in the city schools. Her address at that time was 5111 Lemon Grove Avenue, Los Angeles, California. She spoke at a meeting of American Youth for Democracy which was held at 607 Southwestern Avenue at Los Angeles on February 21, 1947, according to the *Daily People's World* for February 24th of that year, page 3, column 3. She was a delegate from Los Angeles County to the second national convention of American Youth for Democracy which was held in New York City June 14 to 18, 1946, according to the *Daily People's World* for June 6th of that year, page 3, column 8. She spoke at a memorial rally at Park Manor in Los Angeles on April 20, 1947, and during her speech she claimed that American Youth for Democracy was not a Communist organization or even a Communist front. In this connection, she said, "We will not be swerved from our original democratic path by those who cry 'Red' and mean to bring fascism to America."

As Executive Secretary of American Youth for Democracy in Los Angeles County Mrs. Fromkin spoke to a teen-age group at the national convention of the Los Angeles Youth Council on April 12, 1947, at the Y. W. C. A. building at 946 South Figueroa Street in Los Angeles. (See *Daily People's World*, March 10, 1947, page 4, column 2.) The toastmaster on this occasion was Howard DaSilva, and others who were sponsors for this meeting included Helen Samuels; Executive Secretary for the National Negro Congress, Eddie Burrige, of the *California Eagle*; Edward Mosk, representing the Progressive Citizens of America; Edith Beckerman, representing the Los Angeles County Federation of Teachers. And among the organizations represented at the meeting according to the account of the *Daily People's World* were: B'Nai B'rith Youth Organization; the Jewish Youth Council; the United Christian Youth Fellowship; the American Veterans Committee; the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, and the United Office and Professional Workers of America. According to accounts in the *Daily People's World* Mrs. Fromkin opposed the purge of Communist Party members who were employed in official capacities by the County of Los Angeles, she opposed universal military training, she favored the election of Henry Wallace by the Independent Progressive Party to the presidency of the United States, she defied the House Un-American Activities Committee's probe of American Youth for Democracy and in 1949 she was elected temporary chairman of the Labor Youth League organizational meeting and was the presiding officer for the day at the June meeting held in Los Angeles and which has heretofore been described.

Those who are interested in further documenting the record are invited to read the articles which appeared in the *Daily People's World* on June 26, 1947, page 3, column 6; September 3, 1947, page 1, column 1; March 26, 1948, page 1, column 5; April 15, 1948, page 3, column 2, and June 26, 1949. It may parenthetically be added that the *People's World* is accustomed to reporting affairs of this sort with almost infallible accuracy.

### THE LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE HEARING

At a closed hearing of the committee which was held in Room 1006 of the State Building in Los Angeles on January 3, 1950, at 2 p.m., an informant appeared before the committee and testified that he had personally attended the organizing meeting of the Labor Youth League in Los Angeles at 4016 S. Central Avenue, as has heretofore been stated.

This witness corroborated the findings of the committee to the effect that the Young Communist League had been the basic Marxian youth organization in the United States, and simply changed its name to American Youth for Democracy and finally to the Labor Youth League for purposes of deception, but was still functioning as the youth organization of the Communist Party of the United States. According to this witness, Phil Bock was elected organizing president of the Labor Youth League, a man approximately 28 years of age; and that Vicki Landish presided as mistress of ceremonies and that he would estimate her age to be about 32. When the witness first arrived he was charged a nominal admission price of 35 or 50 cents, and noticed that copies of the *Daily People's World* and other Communist literature were being sold to the delegates and other persons who attended the meeting. He said that among others who were present was Estelle Parness, the U. C. L. A. student, John Conley and Miriam Luks.

The meeting commenced with community singing, which the witness described as the singing of popular songs with propaganda lyrics that were intended to incite the audience on a class-struggle basis. He stated that whoever planned the meetings was very conscious of what people will do and think when they are aroused, and that real or imaginary injustices were played up to weld the people together in a solid mass. Following the community singing the representative who went to the meeting in Chicago in May of 1949 at which the Labor Youth League was launched, gave a short talk. The witness said that Vicki Landish and Phil Bock and a few other leaders simply presented the pre-formulated program of the meeting to those present for adoption and that it was crammed through smoothly and without a hitch—that there wasn't a single no vote cast during the entire meeting. He testified that according to the statements made at the meeting the delegates who went from Los Angeles to the Chicago convention, both boys and girls, went in a station wagon and made the entire trip straight through, sleeping in the station wagon en route. He said that all of the talks at the meeting followed the well-known Communist party line: Capitalism was condemned, everything characteristically American and democratic was condemned,



the Communist Party was eulogized in glowing terms, universal military training was condemned, and the entire program was mapped according to Communist doctrine.

There was never, said the witness, any occasion when those present would say that the Communists were incorrect or had made a mistake or an error. They simply took the whole party line straight down and followed it 100 percent. There was no deviation whatever. The witness was impressed by the derogatory remarks cast about Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Government of China, and the approval given to the Chinese People's Communist government. He said that in connection with a resolution adopted against universal military training one of the leaders of the meeting got up and said that he was collecting his unemployment insurance when one of the administrators had the gall to ask him if he had reconsidered joining the army—and he said he wouldn't under any condition join the army of the United States because it was, in his opinion, no more than an army of aggression.

The witness handed to the committee a copy of the by-laws and temporary rules of organization for the Labor Youth League in Los Angeles County which was adopted at the meeting he attended and which he described as an original document. It stated that the organization had set a goal of 1,000 members in Southern California by the first of January, 1950. He described the organizational procedure as one wherein the entire Southern California organization would be broken down into cells. He said there were 31 clubs already pledged to be organized and that strong organizations were to be established at U. S. C., U. C. L. A. and Los Angeles City College. He was not familiar with all of the institutions from memory, but read from official documents submitted to the meeting he attended and read the names of the educational institutions at which units of Labor Youth League were to be established as follows: Los Angeles City College, Fairfax High School, Hollywood High School, Belmont High School, Roosevelt High School, Manual Arts High School; and that clubs were pledged to be established in the following localities: Watts, Central and Vernon areas, one club each, three or more clubs in the east side, and clubs in the valley, Santa Monica and Norwalk regions.

In response to a question asking whether or not there was any doubt about the meeting being completely dominated by the Communist Party, the witness replied that he had no doubt whatsoever and added that all the literature he saw there was Communist in its content and that the organization was simply a recruiting medium through which students more or less ideologically inclined would be drawn into the ranks of the Communist Party. The witness stated that: "people who associate with a group such as that, attending their meetings and following their line of thought could end up no place but in the Communist Party."

Having affiliated with the organization the witness testified that he receives bulletins and letters from the Labor Youth League from time to time and described them as engaging enthusiastically in propaganda

in behalf of the convicted members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, in picketing, and in general propaganda activities which would further the Communist Party line.

The witness also testified (and to the committee this seemed of great importance) that at the organizational meeting which he attended there were two guest speakers, Dorothy Healy and Ben Dobbs. Dorothy Healy first appeared before this committee in 1941 when she was a minor Communist functionary in the City of San Francisco and then employed as a field examiner for the State Department of Labor. She testified that she was a member of the Communist Party and had joined the Young Communist League when she was 14 years of age. The committee also summoned Mrs. Healy to appear before it in a recent Los Angeles hearing, and there learned that she was the top Communist Party functionary for Southern California, and on the Board of Directors of the *People's Educational Center*, now known as the *California Labor School*, which was and is the Communist school for Southern California.

Mrs. Healy, as organizing secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, certainly was interested in the meeting held on Central Avenue at which the Labor Youth League for Southern California was launched. Ben Dobbs, a member of the Communist Party, a functionary or full time employee of the Communist movement and a person who has held many official positions in the Communist Party of Los Angeles County was also quite in character when he accompanied his boss, Mrs. Healy, to the meeting which launched 200 or more future citizens of California on their Communist careers, and laid the foundations for establishment of active units in the educational institutions of our State.

The announcement was made at the meeting that Mrs. Healy and Mr. Dobbs were prominent individuals who were the guests of the organization, the announcement having been made by Mr. Phil Bock. Mrs. Healy made a few remarks from where she was sitting in the back of the room, but Mr. Dobbs came up to the rostrum and told how he had been a sergeant in the American army in Yugoslavia, how he found Communist Party headquarters in that country and eventually located it because there was a large picture of Stalin in front of the place. He said he also saw a flag with a hammer and sickle on it which made him feel quite at home, and had no difficulty in establishing contact with the Communist organization in Yugoslavia during the last war.

For the purpose of supplementing the testimony given by the informant on the occasion of this closed hearing, the committee introduced a copy of the *Daily People's World* for May 5, 1947, page 4, column 1, showing that Mr. Bock who introduced these Communist Party functionaries was himself a delegate from the Communist Party of California to the first national encampment of the Communist Veterans of World War II, in Washington, D. C., on May 8 and 9, 1947. Thus, instead of having only Mrs. Healy and Mr. Dobbs as two very prominent Communists addressing the Youth Labor League meeting there was also

Phil Bock, who was a delegate to the meeting of Communist Veterans of World War II in May of 1947.

Someone from the staff of the *Daily People's World* also addressed the youngsters who gathered to form the Labor Youth League of Southern California, and after these guest speakers had made their comments and the organizational procedure was adopted by the assembled delegates, nominations were opened for members of the organizing committee. A list of 18 people was presented for consideration, two more were nominated from the floor, and this slate of 20 was elected by acclamation, there being no dissenting votes.

The witness continued to testify as follows:

"They also wanted sideline activity. They wanted to organize cultural groups. Frank Greenwood, a colored actor and writer here in Los Angeles, was appointed as cultural chairman. They also gave a little skit with Mr. Greenwood and two of his colleagues whose names I don't know, a little skit on unionism. It was along Communist lines, however, it had no particular Communist flavor. It was a skit concerning a plant on strike. One man was going back to work as a strike breaker. Mr. Greenwood, who is colored, portrayed a white worker and he explained to his colleague, a colored worker, why he didn't go back to work because he would destroy the whole bargaining power of the union. Then there were a couple of members of the organization there who played instruments and they gave a little entertainment and after that they were going to have a dance."

The witness stayed around for a while after the meeting was adjourned, and testified that there were 81 college students present, 90 teen-agers, 36 union members, and 27 unemployed. He stated that he made the casual acquaintance of a girl who sat next to him, a girl whose name was Annette Heggan, who was a student at the University of California in Berkeley. She described herself as being president of the *Young Progressive Students of America* at the university and said that she "handled" the progressive students at the university in Berkeley, and came down for the express purpose of attending the organizational meeting of the Labor Youth League.

At the time the hearing was held, and the witnesses appeared before the committee, questions were put to Lynn Marshall, Vicki Landish, Dorothy Neff, John Connelly, Miriam Luks. All of them were represented by their attorney, Mr. William B. Esterman, of the firm of Pestana and Esterman. This team of Los Angeles attorneys, like the firm of Gladstein, Sawyer and Resner in San Francisco, devote virtually all of their time to the defense of Communists and members of Communist-front organizations that are subpoenaed by committees like this one or before federal grand juries. Whenever there is a strike which is Communist-fomented, whenever the members of the National Communist Party organization are arrested or whenever Communist Party members are subpoenaed and there is a possibility—however remote—that they might disclose something which would be detrimental to the Communist movement, they are

accompanied by well-known lawyers who devote their time and such talents as they may possess in flying to the defense of witnesses such as these young people who were subpoenaed before the committee in January of 1950.

Mr. Esterman followed his customary technique of leaning heavily on constitutional rights and civil liberties in advising his clients not to answer any questions which might embarrass the Communist Party.

Before the hearing had progressed very far, it became quite obvious to the members of the committee that each and every one of the witnesses had been well rehearsed by Mr. Esterman concerning the demeanor they were to exhibit on the witness stand; and it should be said here that the demeanor of these witnesses did not vary one iota from the demeanor of the average Communist Party member or fellow traveler who has appeared from time to time before this committee and its predecessors during the past 12 years. Each and every witness took the opportunity to use the forum of the committee as a platform from which to exhibit contempt for the legal processes of the State, for the State Legislature, for the regular and orderly processes of the law—all in accordance with Communist Party techniques and instructions that have been laid down for every Communist to follow since the foundation of the International Communist movement in 1919. The committee regrets that space will not permit it to reproduce here the full transcript of the proceedings at this particular hearing. It is an outstanding example of the abuse and defiance members of committees such as this have to suffer at the hands of impertinent young Marxists who have been well-schooled as to their behavior on such occasions.

The first witness who was called to the stand, Mr. John Conley, stated that he lived at 1443 Castro Court, San Pedro, California, that he had resided at that locality for approximately two years and that his occupation was a warehouseman. After evading questions for a considerable period of time and exhibiting his displeasure at not being able to read a long prepared written statement into the record, Conley protested that he had a right to attend any meeting he pleased and to speak with and associate with anybody he desired, and that any legislative committee that presumed to question him about such matters was infringing upon his constitutional rights. Despite this long preliminary procedure of protesting and declaiming about his cherished rights and privileges, the witness testified that he did attend the meeting at which the Labor Youth League was launched in Los Angeles on June 26, 1949, and that he had been a delegate at the founding conference in Chicago in May of 1949. With frequent interruptions on the part of Mr. Esterman in behalf of the witness, Mr. Conley continued to describe in general the procedure at the Los Angeles meeting, testifying that it started at about 10 o'clock in the morning and concluded at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. He stated that he had attended meetings of the Labor Youth League from time to time, and that he was one of the active founders of the movement in California. Mr. Conley did not realize it, but in general his testimony completely corroborated the report which



the committee had obtained at the executive session meeting that was held on January 3, 1950.

The next witness who appeared on the witness stand was Vicki Landish Fromkin. Mrs. Fromkin stated that she lived at 817½ Lucille Avenue in Los Angeles, and that she had lived there for a period of several months. She, too, went through the practice of presenting a written statement which she desired to read into the record, permission to do so promptly being denied her by the chairman of the committee pursuant to the invariable procedure in such matters.

Mrs. Fromkin testified that she had attended the University of California at Berkeley and also in Los Angeles, and repeated what Mr. Conley had stated, almost word for word, to the effect that she could hold whatever office she liked, and that she could associate with and converse with whomever she pleased, and could attend any organizations or meetings she desired, and that all of those activities were none of the business of the State Legislature's committee which was mandated to investigate un-American activities. This, in spite of the fact that the record of Mrs. Fromkin—both before and after her marriage, is an extremely lengthy documentation of Communist activities. She testified, after a great deal of evasion and hesitation, that she was the teen-age director of the Labor Youth League in California, and that she was elected to that position after the organization was founded in California in June of 1949. She also attended the meeting that was held on June 26, 1949, at 4016 South Central Avenue in Los Angeles, which Mrs. Fromkin admitted, and she also testified that the meeting commenced about 10 o'clock in the morning and ended about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. She stated that she had been an official in American Youth for Democracy, and in that capacity had made a talk concerning that organization at a meeting held at the Park Manor in the City of Los Angeles on April 20, 1947, at which time she protested against statements which had been made charging the organization with being a Communist front and she stated that it was simply a "progressive youth organization." After being shown copies of the *Daily People's World* in which she was described as the executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy, Mrs. Fromkin testified that she had held such positions; and she unwittingly, no doubt, testified to the authenticity of the committee's reports in response to a question when she somewhat heatedly said:

"A. I think I have answered the question. However, I think that if you have—you probably have the Tenney Committee reports before you, or have read them, and it is clearly listed in that report the positions which I have held, and I also say that I am proud to be listed with the other important citizens.

Chairman Burns: Well, you have just been referring us to them. Evidently you are assuming they are correct, are you not?

The Witness: I'm saying it is a surprise to me, it is a surprise to me he would ask that question when this committee has me listed *naturally* (committee's italics) in the Tenney Committee reports. Why

are you asking me again—and you never asked me before when it was listed in the Tenney Committee reports.

Chairman Burns: We are giving you an opportunity to admit it or deny it, whichever you want.

The Witness: I have answered the question.

Question (by Mr. Combs): Were you a member of American Youth for Democracy, Miss Landish?"

A. Well, I can't understand this type of inquiry. I have been a member of many organizations, and my statement says that for many years due to the life that I spent as a young person as one of the lost generation during the last depression, I joined with many young people in many organizations which supported and fought for the needs of young people. What I join and what I do are my right. You have no right to ask me. However, I am very proud that I was a member and a leader of the American Youth for Democracy in the early years of its existence."

It seems appropriate at this point to quote from some of this witness's testimony in order to demonstrate the reluctance with which information has to be pried out of witnesses of this character.

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): You say 'in the years of its existence.' Doesn't it exist any more?

A. Whether the organization is in existence any more I imagine you would know. Whether the members form an organization or dissolve an organization according to their own desires is up to them.

Q. Well, I am asking you if you know whether it exists now or not?

A. I am saying that it is a matter of public record, although I don't have to answer that either, that by national referendum or vote of the membership of the American Youth for Democracy the organization was dissolved on the basis that the young people in it felt the necessity to dissolve this organization and to work for the establishment of another organization together with other young people. This I am volunteering because I wish to get it in the records. However, you have no right to ask me and I could withhold this information as my constitutional right.

Q. What was the organization that succeeded it? Was that the Labor Youth League?

A. Many organizations have succeeded the American Youth for Democracy. Whether young people in the American Youth for Democracy are in the Young Women's Christian Association or many other organizations want to get together and form another organization is up to them, and I don't think that—not only don't I think, I am very certain that you have no right to ask this question.

Q. I hand you a document entitled 'draft by-laws (temporary rules of organization),' and ask you if you have ever seen such a document before?

A. I can say that I have seen many draft by-laws, I think, in many organizations. Whether I have seen that or not is an inquiry into what I have seen, and it is my right to look at things and not to tell people what I see. However, it is obvious that since I have already volunteered

the information that I am a leader of the Labor Youth League that I would have seen draft by-laws of this organization.

Q. Well, is that a copy of them?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. Would you examine the other pages so that we can authenticate it, please?

A. It is not a very good copy, but it is a copy.

Q. Thank you."

The witness testified that she was a student at the University of California in Berkeley from January of 1941 until September of 1946 as a student and after she graduated she stated she did graduate work in the vicinity of Berkeley. She refused to answer questions which would elicit from her the information as to her activities in the Young Communist League while a student at the university, and was evasive when it was indicated to her that the organization, American Youth for Democracy, of which she was an official, had been characterized by the United States Department of Justice as a Communist-controlled organization. There was no possible doubt, however, concerning the extremely active part that the witness played as a leader not only in the American Youth for Democracy, but in the Labor Youth League as well. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Fromkin, according to the documentary evidence produced in connection with her testimony, was active in American Youth for Democracy from its inception and simply continued her activities over into the organization which succeeded it—the Labor Youth League.

The next witness called to the stand was Miriam Luks, a senior student at the Fairfax High School. In order to make it plain to the readers of this report that the witnesses all exhibited the same fundamental reaction when asked anything concerning their activities in connection with the Labor Youth League or any other suspect organization, it should be observed that this witness also insisted that her right of affiliation with organizations of her choice and her associations with people of her choice were her own business and any interrogation concerning them on the part of the Committee was an invasion of her constitutional rights. After a good deal of reticence, the witness did testify that she was present at the organizing meeting of the Labor Youth League in Los Angeles on June 26, 1949, and that she also attended the national organizing convention in Chicago on May 30th of that year, but it was not until the witness was confronted with documentary evidence to that effect that she admitted that the documents were basically correct. An example of her reticence when pinned down to specific questions may be seen in the following excerpt from her testimony:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): Well, did you give a report at the Los Angeles meeting on your observations at the Chicago convention in May, 1949?

A. I gave such a report.

Q. Yes. All right. As a matter of fact, well—I won't ask you about what the other people did.

A. Thank you.

Q. You are welcome. Now, is there a unit of the Labor Youth League at Fairfax High School?

A. I imagine that there are many units of the Labor Youth League, and as to where they are, possibly the officials of the Fairfax High School might be better able to inform you.

Q. Well, we are asking you.

A. Well, sir, I don't feel that I have a right to answer the question, and I hesitate as to whether you have the right to ask, as to whether there is a unit.

Q. Do you know whether there is a unit of the Labor Youth League at the Fairfax High School or not?

A. I have tried to answer your question as best I can.

Q. Do you know whether there is a unit of the Labor Youth League at the Fairfax High School?

A. I don't think that what I know or what I believe or what I think is necessary for the record of this court.

Q. This committee. This is not a court.

A. This committee, excuse me, sir.

Q. Is that your answer?

A. It is the best one I have, sir.

Q. When did you last attend a meeting of the Labor Youth League, Miss Luks?

A. I hate to keep bringing up my statement, but I am trying to make it clear that where I go is not the business of this committee, and consequently the last meeting of the Labor Youth League that I attended is not the business of this committee, or whether I did attend such a meeting."

Lynn Marshall was the next witness, a student 16 years of age at the Belmont High School in Los Angeles County. Marshall testified that he was a senior, and when asked whether or not he had attended the organizing meeting of the Labor Youth League at 4016 S. Central Avenue in Los Angeles on Sunday, June 26, 1949, he said:

"A. Mr. Combs, as I said in my statement, I understand that—I have studied civics just this last semester—and I understand that where a citizen of the United States goes, what he does and what he says, as long as it is not criminal, is his own right guaranteed to him by the Bill of Rights and the constitution, and I don't think that you have a right to ask me that question."

This witness was followed on the stand by Dorothy Neff, who testified that she resided at 2231 Reservoir Street in the City of Los Angeles, was 17 years of age, and had been a student at the University of California in Los Angeles. When asked whether or not she knew anything about the Labor Youth League, Miss Neff replied:

"A. Well, as I understand it, what organizations I belong to or what organizations I don't belong to, it is my right under the Constitution not to have to tell this committee what organizations I belong or don't belong to.



Q. I didn't ask you to what organizations you belonged or didn't belong. I asked you if you had heard of an organization known as the Labor Youth League.

A. The same holds true also, what I have heard about and what I have not heard about, and so forth, is my constitutional right, and it is between me and myself."

It is quite obvious that the civic instructors in the schools attended by these defiant young citizens either did not teach them the sort of thing they referred to when describing their constitutional rights or that these young people had received the same kind of instruction that young Everitt Hudson got when he attended the University High School and came home to amaze his parents with his warped and confused ideas concerning the American way of life. The committee deems it necessary to point out here that the people of the State of California had a very serious interest in the associations and affiliations of these young Marxists so far as organizations such as American Youth for Democracy and the Labor Youth League were concerned—and that the people, through its duly constituted legislative committee, had a perfect right to make such inquiries. The committee knows from long and sometimes very arduous experience in these matters that it would have done very little good to cite these young people for contempt and seek to obtain convictions of a misdemeanor for refusing to answer pertinent questions. Communist radicals love to pose as injured martyrs who are suffering for the benefit of the world revolution of the proletariat, and the Communist book stores are replete with written material to that effect. Experience has indicated that very little real good is accomplished by citing young persons such as these for contempt. They will invariably serve a short jail sentence rather than answer a pertinent question, and they emerge from their incarceration covered with glory in the eyes of the Communist organizations to which they are affiliated. Furthermore, such incarceration gives front organizations like the Civil Rights Congress an opportunity to indulge in a perfect orgy of propaganda about the ruthless forces of capitalism.

Frequently in the case of adult Communist witnesses who exhibit the same sort of an attitude before the committee, it is expedient to immediately cite them for contempt and press the prosecution if possible, merely for the purpose of setting a precedent. The committee feels, however, that an analysis of the testimony of these witnesses—defiant, hostile, impertinent, steadfastly refusing to give testimony that would expose the activities of the Communist organizations and individuals with which they are affiliated, is more eloquent testimony than the committee would receive if the witnesses could be persuaded to tell a forthright and truthful story about such matters.

It should be added, parenthetically, that all of the non-Communist witnesses who have ever appeared before the committee exhibit an entirely opposite attitude. They are courteous, responsive, and truthful. They have not been imbued with the class struggle concept which teaches all members of the Communist Party that they owe no obligation to any

capitalist form of government, and therefore can freely disregard their solemn oath, can lie, dissemble, evade, and use the capitalistic forums, both of legislative committees and of courts, simply as platforms for the purpose of making speeches exhibiting their defiance of democratic and free institutions and turning the entire proceeding into a propaganda medium for the perpetuation of the day-to-day class struggle which is the practical basis of the international Communist revolution.

A short time after the committee held this hearing in Los Angeles on the Labor Youth League, one of the largest front organizations in the United States, and one which is so much an integral part of the Communist Party apparatus that it can barely qualify as a front organization any more, the Civil Rights Congress, issued a statement in its annual publication to the effect that the hearing was a complete failure as far as the committee was concerned. This statement, together with a great deal of detailed information concerning the activities of the Civil Rights Congress in California, is found elsewhere in this report in the section dealing with Communist Front Organizations, and therefore the statement in the Civil Rights Congress publication concerning this particular hearing will be treated in that section rather than here.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the purpose of the committee in holding the Los Angeles hearing was to ascertain the nature and scope of the Labor Youth League organization in California. The hearing showed, without any question whatever, that the organization had spread its units throughout the educational institutions of the state and that in the most populous cities in California there were units of the Labor Youth League at every large high school, state college, and university. It is a part of the function of this committee to peg organizations of this type for precisely what they are, and the Los Angeles hearing developed documentary evidence and sworn testimony to the effect that the Labor Youth League is nothing more nor less than the Young Communist League of the United States of America operating under another name.

## INFILTRATION OF UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

When the Communist Party of the United States was created at a Chicago convention in September, 1919, one of the first things the Party proceeded to do thereafter was to divide the United States into 20 Communistic districts. California, Arizona and Nevada comprised District No. 13 and the headquarters for that particular district was located on Grove Street in the City of San Francisco. After having functioned at the Grove Street headquarters for several years, the Party moved the offices for District 13 to 121 Haight Street in San Francisco, and a few years ago changed the office headquarters to 942 Market Street where District 13, now comprising California, Arizona and the Hawaiian Islands, is presently situated. From this central office all of the strategy and all of the plans that permeate through the Communist Party structure in California, Arizona, and the Hawaiian Islands are formulated.

Formulation of the policy is first done by the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States in New York, its directives then come down to the district committee in California, then on down through the committee to the district bureau, which comprises only a trusted handful of Communist Party officials, and the actual execution of the directives is ordinarily carried out by Mr. William Schneiderman, who has long been the chairman of the Communist Party of California and the organizer for the entire district.

Situated across San Francisco Bay in the City of Berkeley is the seat of the largest university in the world—the University of California. It was, then, no more than natural that the Communist Party apparatus should concentrate its attention on the University of California in Berkeley for the purpose of drawing into the Party large numbers of young and impressionable students.

Shortly after the Communist Party of the United States was organized a campus branch of the Party was started at the University of California. From ex-Party members who occupied positions of prominence in the area, and including several who were in charge of all Party activities for the entire County of Alameda, this committee has gained a great deal of information. At this point it should be made very clear that the University of California is no exception in the Communist Plan of infiltrating educational institutions. In state colleges and junior colleges, at Stanford University, at the University of Southern California, and at the larger high schools in key cities throughout the State the committee has found flourishing Communist Party units that have been functioning for a number of years. At the University of California the Communist Party concentrated its infiltration techniques for the very simple reason that the field was more inviting as there were larger numbers of students and a larger faculty personnel upon which to operate.

During the early period of the Young Communist League and the other student organizations such as the National Student League, the American Student Union, the Young Progressive Students of America, Students for Wallace, and the other comparable youth organizations that were heavily infiltrated with Communism, educational administrators of the United States, charged as they were with the duty of educating the youth of the land and protecting them from indoctrination by subversive faculty members, paid little attention to the real aims and objectives of international Communism. It was a rare thing to find an educational administrator who had really done enough reading and research on his own to inform himself adequately concerning techniques used by the Communist Party in recruiting students to Marxism, the techniques that could best be used to identify and expose Communist-front organizations operating among the students, and the methods by which undercover Communist Party faculty members could be exposed and removed from the institutions in which they taught. There was a tolerant, apathetic attitude toward such things that was simply grist to the Communist mill;



an attitude that made the operation of Communist-front organizations and recruiting of students a very simple task for the Party.

The whole attitude of educational administrators during the period commencing with the forming of the Young Communist League and ending with the period immediately preceding the Korean War, is well discussed in an article by Mr. Sidney Hook, excerpts from which follow.

### SIDNEY HOOK ARTICLE

Figures in parentheses refer to page numbers of author's original article

"During the last fifteen years—which roughly begin with the Popular Front reorientation of the Communist party in the United States—there has emerged on the campuses of the nation a complex of ideas and a form of social action which has had a profound influence on the attitude of students. These ideas, generous in intention even if vague in expression, centered around the ideals of equality, freedom and peace. Their roots were not found in Marxist doctrine, which regards all such abstractions with suspicion, but in the traditional unanalyzed ideology of American democracy. Their dynamism was not the result of a calculated political tactic but a consequence of the fervors and moral idealism of youth.

"Two things were characteristic of this awakened liberalism. As distinct from previous liberal movements, which ebbed and flowed spontaneously with student interest but had no cumulative force, it was carefully channeled in a definite political direction. Every large social action to which it led turned out to be in behalf of a cause in which the Communist party took leadership, either from the outset or by gradual organizational manipulation. No other political tendency offered competition, partly out of weakness but mainly because such competition entailed (329) full time activity and a sacrifice of academic for political life which few, except for the professionally dedicated, were prepared to make. Secondly, the implications of these political ideas and ideals in their devastating critical impact upon Soviet culture in theory and practice were never drawn. Any attempt to do so provoked the most vehement denunciation from the leaders of social action on the campus. Thus the peace movements of the 30's among students and the splendid support of the Spanish Loyalist government among both faculties and students were either organized or soon captured by the Communist party. The evidence that this was so had little effect even when the crassness of party control was revealed, or the typically sudden transition from the pacifist 'Oxford pledge' slogans among students in 1934 to the nationalist war cries required by the new party line. In further documentation we need only cite the reaction in the universities to such liberal efforts as the organization of the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, headed by John Dewey, in 1936, and the launching of the Committee for Cultural Freedom, again under John Dewey's leadership, in 1939.

"The continuity of ideas and action which made almost every movement on the campus that called itself 'progressive' or 'radical' a recruiting ground for the Young Communist League and the Communist party, was provided not by the students but by members

of the faculties, most of whom could with clearer conscience than political understanding, deny that they were Communists. *Statistical studies show that to this day members of the professoriat constitute the strongest and most influential group of Communist fellow-travellers in the United States.* And when I say this I am not speaking of disguised Communist party members, or even of theoretical 'Marxists' of the Stalinist persuasion. The vast majority of academic fellow-travellers are not Marxists and hold views in their own fields for which they would be 'liquidated' or dismissed from their posts in the Soviet Union. Yet they constitute the most loyal battalion of that little army of 'progressive' intellectuals who are invariably found lending their names and prestige to Communist party front organizations, championing the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, defending Communists against even the mildest and most justified of administrative measures and never defending or speaking for the victim of Communism anywhere.

"On any view of academic freedom these men and women have every right to be members of the academic community. They have not made the total commitment of membership in the Communist party which compels them to uphold or remain silent about distasteful party dogmas and Soviet actions in the interests of a fancied ultimate historical good. Nonetheless, because of their numbers and because of the passivity of their colleagues, they have had and still have far more influence upon students' political habits of thought than any other group—an influence which in its mildest form substitutes a 'radical' philistinism for the conventional kind, and in its more vicious forms softens students up for participation and membership in the Communist movement and all that this implies.

"These professionals of good will who play the role of ideological 'typhus Marys' are not, I repeat, the concern of legislators and administrators. They are the concern of educators who must solve the problem within the framework of democratic education.

"Three general questions must be raised about this type of academic fellow-traveller. What are his most easily identifiable intellectual habits? What are the causes of his fellow-travelling? What can be done about him?

"Perhaps the most depressing feature of the habits of the fellow-traveller is the completely unscrupulous character of his intellectual procedures as soon as he discusses a political question which concerns Communists or the Soviet Union. A man who would rather starve than misreport the evidence of an experiment, who would sooner sacrifice popularity and preferment than risk making a snap judgment about a manuscript, feels not (330) the slightest compunction, once his political sympathies take on a Communist tinge, about inventing his facts as he goes along, or refusing to investigate and verify evidence crucial to his arguments. I am not now referring to deliberate duplicity, which is rare, and which, because it is conscious, covers its tracks so carefully that it is difficult to expose except by experts. I am referring to the half-conscious belief, born of political euphoria, that everything goes because one knows in one's heart that it is all in a good cause, and that in the interests of human welfare it is not necessary to put too fine a point on truth.

Especially when one is dealing with the 'enemy'—the enemy being anyone who disagrees on a matter of political importance. Intellectual integrity thus becomes the first victim of political enthusiasm.

"Another characteristic feature of the non-party worker in the academic vineyard is his refusal to be bound by consistent standards of judgment. Absolute consistency, of course, is not always possible or desirable, but the departure from it in apparently similar cases always requires explanation or justification. Otherwise, judgment has no rational basis and words become systematically ambiguous, no more than a cloak for political hypocrisy. Of myriads of illustrations of this attitude, three may be briefly mentioned.

"After the publication of the photostatic copies of the checks issued by the so-called Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee to Gerhard Eisler, accused by former leading Communists of serving as the chief Cominform representative in the United States, a government agency demanded that the books and records of the Committee be submitted for inspection. Refusal was adjudged as contempt and punishment upheld by the courts. Whereupon an intense campaign against the alleged violation of the civil rights of the responsible officials of this notorious Communist front organization was conducted on the colleges and campuses of the country, spearheaded by fellow-travelers. (Incidentally, none of the defenders of this organization showed the slightest qualms about the ethics of raising money for the 'orphans and widows of anti-Fascist refugees' and diverting the funds, at least in part, to the support of Communist functionaries).

"Let us assume that the point at issue is at least debatable and that the Supreme Court, which in the *Terminiello* and other cases has not betrayed an illiberal spirit in interpreting civil rights, was mistaken in refusing to set the conviction aside.

"Not so long ago the director of the Ku (332) Klux Klan of the state of Alabama was sentenced to jail for contempt for refusing to produce Klan records of membership before a grand jury. He pleaded that he was bound by a sacred oath of secrecy and that revelation of the names of the Klansmen would be an act of betrayal and prejudicial to the interests of his fellow-members. Not a single one of the staunch defenders of the Communist front organization that refused to submit its records, or of the Hollywood 'ten' to answer questions concerning their membership in the Communist party, so much as raised a murmur against the conviction of the Klan leader. It is a safe guess to say that they applauded it, as every genuine liberal—it seems to me—should. But not one vouchsafed an explanation of why it was wrong to withhold evidence of membership in the Ku Klux Klan but right to withhold evidence of membership in the Communist party.

"A second illustration is provided by the denazification procedure in occupied Germany. Anybody who has been on the scene knows that with all of its limitations the American denazification process has been the most stringent of all. This has not prevented the academic fellow-traveller from bitterly complaining that the United States was giving aid and comfort to former Nazis. But when Walter Ulbricht, the leading German lieutenant of the Kremlin, openly

proclaims in the Russian-licensed *Nacht-Express* that former active Nazis are welcome to leading ports in the new Germany, it evokes no similar response. And yet the motivation of the Kremlin in wooing these formerly active Nazis is transparently clear. 'Even if they have not completed their conversion,' says Ulbricht, 'they clearly realize now that the aggressive forces in the United States aim at the destruction of the German nation.'

"The final illustration is the crassest of all. With hardly any effort at concealment the Communist party recently organized a Bill of Rights Conference in New York City to consider the 'unprecedented attacks' on civil rights in the United States and to take measures in their defense. Apparently not believing that the United States Supreme Court, (333) the American Civil Liberties Union, the AFL, CIO, and other organizations of the labor and liberal movement have acted sufficiently in defense of our civil rights, a number of leading academic figures came forward as sponsors of the Conference, at which a resolution was unanimously adopted condemning the trial of the leaders of the Communist party and expressing opposition to the Smith Act under which the indictments were drawn. But at the very same session a resolution calling upon the President to grant pardons and restore the civil rights of eighteen Socialist Workers party members convicted at Minneapolis in 1940 under the very same statute—the Smith Act—was howled down, with Paul Robeson declaring that the Trotskyist victims of the Smith Act deserved defending no more than Fascists or Ku Kluxers. Not a single academic sponsor withdrew from the Conference in protest against this brazen declaration that the civil rights only of Communists and of those approved by them were worthy of being defended.

"What explains this calamitous lapse from elementary justice on the part of men and women who in their own fields are so circumspect about intellectual consistency and moral decency? Many things, not the least of which are justifiable indignation against administrative stupidities and injustices by state and school and outrageous acts like those committed at Peekskill. But most of it can be traced to an assumption deeply held, even when it is unspoken, that the Communist movement is an integral element in a wider movement of progress and enlightenment. Communists, it is held, are people of 'the left,' uncouth perhaps, but undoubtedly sincere. Despite our legitimate criticism of their amusing ideological crotchets, they are after all people 'on our side.' Whoever criticizes them too severely or refuses to work with them in a common enterprise 'breaks the unity of all progressive forces.' Besides, the Communists are not always wrong, while our own government is often and clearly wrong. Even those academic fellow-travellers who are in no sense revolutionaries themselves can be heard to say 'The Socialists just talk, but the Communists mean it,' as if this were a point in the latter's favour. And then there is the Communist rhetoric about democracy. Communists are staunch and aggressive fighters, we are told, but after all they are for peace; they lie, but in the interests of a higher truth; they may seem to be disloyal to this country, but it is out of



loyalty to the Soviet Union, which in turn is loyal to the human race.

"How can intelligent men and women believe such nonsense? And at this late date, too? Here, again, there is baffling inconsistency about the academic fellow-traveller. He knows there is no transference of training from one field to another, and he doesn't know it, and he applies this alternating skepticism and faith with a characteristic selective bias. When he reads that a Nobel Prize winner in science has come out for free enterprise or the immortality of the soul, he murmurs, 'Another smug scientist pontificating in a field in which he knows nothing.' But let the same Nobel Prize winner say that the United States constitutes a greater threat to peace than the Soviet Union or that our supply of atomic bombs should be turned over to the UN, and he will quote these opinions as authoritative.

"Intelligence may be a native power but political intelligence is something that is slowly acquired, and only by hard study. The study, however, must not be confined merely to official documents but must be guided by a leading principle, which Marx himself formulated almost a century ago when he declared that we should not judge a class by what it says of itself any more than we judge an individual. This sounds elementary enough but was something that was never learned by that professor of political science who once argued that the Comintern had nothing to do with the Soviet regime because there was no mention of its existence in the Soviet Constitution.

"The best method—although not infallible—of acquiring political knowledge about (333) political realities is political experience. It is an interesting fact that the vast majority of academic persons who have had any experience in political activity or in the genuine labor movement, in the course of which they had to deal with members of the Communist party, rapidly learn the truth about them. But since such interests must be peripheral for most scholars and teachers, the absolute number of the politically sophisticated is small.

"Short of actual experience, a close study of Communist theory and *practice* is indispensable to developing a minimal awareness of the situation in the world today. This brings us to the question of what can be done to meet the challenge of the academic fellow-traveller.

"A few things by this time should be clear. First, the general situation is such that it cannot and should not be met by administrative measures. Even when justified against out-and-out party members, administrative measures, *unless authorized and implemented by the teachers themselves*, are apt to worsen the situation. Nor are loyalty oaths of the slightest aid in restoring intellectual integrity where it has been undermined, or in preventing the academic fellow-traveller—and for that matter even the party member—from battling for the party line. For many years all teachers in the state of New York have been required during the course of their careers to take an oath pledging themselves to support the Constitution. No one has ever refused to take such an oath; no one has ever

been punished for violating it. It is an empty gesture, recognized even by those who administer it as pointless.

"Not pointless but dangerous is the directive by the New York State Board of Regents to all public school authorities under the Fineberg Law to report on the measures undertaken to enforce its provisions which call for the dismissal of all subversive teachers. For the main issue, even as far as Communist party members are concerned, is *not* one of political subversion but of professional ethics, about which the teachers themselves are the best judges. It cannot be too often repeated that it is not because of his *ideas* that a Communist party member is unfit to teach but because of his professional misconduct in joining a conspiratorial organization, one of whose declared purposes is corruption of the teaching process for political purposes. But what makes the Fineberg Law pointedly dangerous is that one mistaken application of its provisions can easily create an incident which the Communist party will exploit to the utmost, swelling the ranks of the fellow-travellers and imbuing them with crusading self-righteousness. If such an incident is not created by some zealous reactionary superintendent, we can be certain that the Communist party, which did not hesitate to denounce its political opponents, especially on the Left, to the Gestapo as secret Communists, will do its best to create one.

"In general the intrusion of the state in affairs of the school involving professional misconduct is to be deplored. But if the teaching profession (like labor) fails to clear up its own sore spots—and no one can reasonably deny that there are evils to be remedied—such intervention is to be expected.

"Since government intervention is inadvisable even in treating the problem created by card-holding members of the Communist party, *a fortiori* it should never be invoked in the struggle for intellectual integrity against the careless, the irresponsible, and the half-willing accomplices of the party line. In the interest of honest dissent, there must be no legal proscriptions of doctrines of any kind.

"What, then, should be done? Until the threat to the democratic culture of the West disappears, the theory and practice of official Communism should be made a required study in the curriculum of all colleges. It is the great merit of President Conant to have realized the importance of this. We can expect President Hutchins to denounce the proposal as a concession to temporalism, and to interpret the temporal as the immediate and the immediate as the instantaneous. But as anyone knows who has even a bowing acquaintance with Communism, the issues it (334) raises are not only immediate—they involve the foundations of belief for our age, and, according to Communist claims, for all recorded history and class societies. There is plenty of meat in a curriculum so expanded. But we must hasten to add—to safeguard against misunderstanding—that it cannot be the only subject of curricular emphasis. More important still, democracy is to be studied not as a conflicting ideology in a war but as a way of life to be independently explored, developed and criticized in relation to the problems of contemporary society.

“What good will such a study accomplish? The good not only of understanding the enemy but of recognizing what must be done in the reconstruction of our own culture to realize the premise of democratic life. As a by-product, it will no longer be possible—let us hope—for so many college-trained persons, not to mention their teachers, to believe that the Bolsheviks overthrew the Czar rather than a political system which Lenin himself had characterized as the freest in the world. Using official Communist sources, students will become acquainted, at least as an hypothesis, with the view that the official Communist parties in all countries are organizational tools of the Soviet regime, employed for every purpose including espionage, and not at all an integral section of the indigenous ‘Left’ movement. They will perhaps begin to understand what a politics based on a *Weltanschauung* involves, and the far-reaching consequences of a movement which openly declares that *any means* is justified to achieve the victory of the proletariat, whose dictatorship is ‘substantially’ identified with the dictatorship of the Communist party.

“The end of such instruction should be not only to clarify the issues between democracy and Communism but to make all persons aware of what they are doing when they reject, accept, or travel along with the Communist party and its organizational fronts. The age of political innocence in the colleges and universities will come to an end. Instruction properly given will also make clear how one kind of reaction helps another, and that just as Communist attacks on ‘fascists’ are often the prelude to the extirpation of democracy (as in Czechoslovakia) so fascist attacks on ‘Communists’ may (as in Spain) be aimed at all liberals and democrats. At the same time it is to be hoped that the fashionable and indiscriminating trend against the welfare state and welfare economy as an expression of ‘statism’ as a forerunner if not a weaker version of totalitarianism on the Soviet model, will be halted, and the arguments for all sorts of alternative systems of planning, from the New Deal to democratic socialism, will be considered on their merits.

“How necessary instruction in the actual theory and practice of the Communist Party is, may be gathered from the discussion of the issue whether the members of the Communist Party should be permitted to teach. This is not an open-and-shut question either way. But it is noteworthy that practically every defender—though not all—of the right of the Communist Party teacher to hold his post has ignored the concrete documentary evidence which shows that members are under instruction to inject the party line in the classroom, to build cells and capture departments. Nor have they paid the slightest attention to the character of the anonymous party-cell literature, in whose preparation and distribution on campuses every member of the cell is involved.

“A case in point is provided by the discussion of Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn (*New York Times*, March 27, 1949) who oddly enough in his book on education maintained that ‘*the purpose of all teaching is to express the cultural authority of the group by which the teaching is given,*’ and that ‘teacher and pupil’ \* \* \* are both agents of the state—essentially illiberal Hegelian notion. (See: *Education*



*Between Two Worlds*, by Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, 1942, p. 91, and p. 279). The nub of Dr. Meiklejohn's argument on the question of Communist teachers is that since 'the primary task of education in our colleges and universities is the teaching of intellectual freedom, as the first principle of the democratic way of life,' we would be interfering with 'free and unabridged discussion' if teachers were dismissed on grounds of membership in the Communist Party.

"Dr. Meiklejohn does not feel called upon to explain how 'free and unabridged discussion' can be carried on by those who are under instruction to inject and indoctrinate party dogmas and who have clearly expressed their intention to do so by virtue of their membership in an organization which gives them these instructions and does not countenance refusal to abide by them. The only assumption on which this glaring inconsistency can be justified is that none but members of the Communist Party can give an adequate and fair statement of Communist theory and strategy. But such an assumption is clearly absurd. If generalized, it would imply that objective teaching on any issue in dispute is impossible. If anything, members of the Communist Party are prepared to suppress evidence (e.g., in their denial of Lenin's testament, the early history of the Red Army, etc.) in accordance with the exigencies of the Kremlin's policy—'fair and unabridged discussion' by all means. But in matters of the class struggle, which according to Party doctrine pervades every aspect of our culture, the ideal of 'fair' discussion is considered in Communist theory as a bourgeois illusion. 'Objectivism' is in fact one of the great heresies in the international Communist movement.

"Even more startling is Dr. Meiklejohn's discovery that despite the fact that Communist Party members shift their ideas 'as the policies of the party shift,' and that despite the fact that they are under 'an unusually rigid and severe discipline,' the only explanation of their behaviour is that in general they 'are moved by a passionate determination to follow the truth where it seems to lead.' Communist Party members must believe, then, if what Dr. Meiklejohn is saying is the case, that the shifts of the Party line are also motivated by a passionate determination to follow the truth. Apparently they have somewhat mistaken the Politburo for the Academy of Science.

"But there is a simpler question still which stares out of Dr. Meiklejohn's words. If the explanation of the Communist Party members' behaviour is their search for the truth, then why the necessity of the 'unusually rigid and severe discipline,' he admits exists? The scientific *methods* by which the truth is reached and what they disclose are certainly sufficient discipline for democratic educators. Why then is there need for the organizational discipline of the Communist Party in respect to belief?

"It is at this point that Dr. Meiklejohn makes his most momentous discovery. The organizational discipline of the Communist Party is not really discipline, or is discipline only in a Pickwickian sense. According to him, members of the Communist Party are not forced to believe anything. For their actions are voluntary. And

then, in a sentence for which I predict immortality as a classic illustration of fallacious thinking, he adds, 'If membership is free, then the beliefs are free.' In other words, because an action is free, i.e., voluntary—joining the Communist Party—the beliefs which are held in virtue of that membership are also free, i.e., a result of the quest for truth.

"Let us examine this. Suppose a teacher accepts money from the National Association of Manufacturers or from a foreign government on the understanding that he champion its side of any issue. I assume that in such a case Dr. Meiklejohn will grant that he has betrayed his trust and is unworthy to teach. I am also confident that Dr. Meiklejohn would say of such a person that he was under orders to reach predetermined conclusions, that he was bound by a discipline that was foreign to the scholar's proper objectivity. But note: the teacher's action is free, i.e., voluntary. No one compelled him to accept the offer. He could take it or leave it. Were he to argue that because his action was free therefore his beliefs were free, i.e., a result of the quest for truth, Dr. Meiklejohn would be the first to expose the sophistical ambiguity by which he sought to gloss over his intellectual dishonesty. (336)

"The fact that a man is paid to work for the N. A. M. or a foreign government is irrelevant to the free and voluntary nature of his act. He might even believe in the program of the N. A. M. or the goals of a foreign government and work for nothing. What makes him intellectually dishonest as a teacher is that by his action he has signified his willingness to teach *according to directions received* and not in accordance with objective methods of searching for the truth. If a scientist is paid money by an industrial firm to undertake research, that does not make him intellectually dishonest. If he is paid money on the understanding that his research will 'prove' what the firm tells him to prove, he is.

"Certainly, membership in the Communist Party or the Ku Klux Klan is free. Even in the Soviet Union no one is compelled to join the party, so, on Dr. Meiklejohn's principle, no thought control exists there. But what he fails to see, despite mountains of evidence, is that the nature of a member's commitment to the Communist Party is incompatible—because of (a) his party pledge, (b) the party dogmas, and (c) clearly defined Party duties as given in official instructions on how to behave in the classrooms and on the campus—with commitment to the scientific method of inquiry.

"In a certain sense, one can speak of the 'integrity' or 'courage' of a person who joins the Communist Party or the Ku Klux Klan openly. But so long as he remains in the organization—and the discussion is about present and active members—he is not free to profess only what he believes the scientific evidence warrants. Lenin made this crystal clear even before the October Revolution. He reversed Dr. Meiklejohn's argument and with better justification. *Just because* membership is voluntary, those who join the Communist Party must accept its intellectual discipline; they are not free to think and write as they please. If this irks them, they can resign; if they remain, they are bound. A decade after the Revolution Stalin drew the awful consequence for the whole field of knowledge and art.

“Dr. Meiklejohn is as wrong as anyone can be. It is loyalty to the Soviet regime and not ‘a passionate determination to follow the truth’ which leads the Communist Party member to teach any specific Communist doctrine on any specific point. His ‘integrity’ is expressed only in his total commitment. This does not mean that he necessarily agrees with the truth, say, of a specific Communist characterization of Roosevelt or of the Marshall Plan at any time. It does not mean that in so far as he is loyal to the Kremlin, in so far as he chooses freely to remain in the Communist Party, he is not free to be *publicly* critical of the party line even if he privately disagrees with it. Usually, he squares this with himself with the reflection that the point on which he feels the party line is wrong is comparatively unimportant. *But it is precisely this subordination to his total commitment, and the evaluation of what is important or unimportant in the light of a political objective, that makes it impossible for him to exercise the free criticism he would engage in were he loyal to the principles of scientific inquiry.*

“Not all of those who are opposed to a general ban on all Communist Party teachers are as confused about where the genuine issue lies as Dr. Meiklejohn. And he is unique in allowing himself to be seduced into fallacy by the two senses of the word ‘free’. But he is typical in what he does not know about the Communist Party at home and abroad.

“There is something more, in addition to revising the curriculum, that American educators can do to improve the quality and accuracy of political discussion in academic circles. That is to break with the genteel tradition of suffering intolerance, disingenuousness, and intellectual dishonesty in silence. One of the most amazing expressions of liberal sentimentalism and muddled think (337) ing is the view that we cannot be intolerant of those who practice and preach intolerance, that if we oppose fanaticism we cannot ever do so passionately, and that forthright exposure of dishonesty and dangerous ignorance is somehow a betrayal of the intellectual process. This overlooks the truth that ideas can corrupt as well as power; and that ignorance, especially when it is cultivated, can be deadly. Liberalism as a temper of mind is the sworn foe of all absolutes of doctrine and program; but only because it is pledged to a self-critical and self-corrective exercise of the processes of intelligence.

“A scholar who propounds anti-Semitic or racist views should be criticized mercilessly even when we grant his constitutional and academic right (provided he is not a member of the Klan, a fascist party, or similar organization) to hold and express such views. Catholic professors, wherever they are, who proclaim that secularism must lead to Communism or fascism, whose fantastic attacks on men like John Dewey and Bertrand Russell show that they are more fearful of their ideas than those of the totalitarian rival power of Communism, should be given public lessons in logic and history. The record of Catholic collaboration with Franco, Mussolini, Salazar, Liso, Dollfuss, and others should be brought vigorously to their attention. A sociologist who defends concentration camps in the

Soviet Union as a model of corrective prison labor in the face of books like Glicksman's *Tell the West* should not be administratively curbed but he should be publicly called to account by his colleagues. A fellow-traveller who justifies his refusal to protest outrages against civil liberties in countries under Communist rule on the ground that we must clean our own doorstep, when he has been active on every committee organized by the Communist Party to protest lack of civil rights in Germany, China, Argentine and Spain, should be exposed as a political hypocrite.

"An astronomer who couples the Soviet purge of scientists with the unenforced laws against the teaching of evolution in our three Southern states as equally bad, when he refrained from mentioning these laws in his denunciation of the Nazi purge of scientists, should be challenged to defend his discriminatory judgments. A literary critic who tells us that if he were in France he would be a Communist and who denies the facts about the suppression of civil liberties, and academic rights in satellite countries should not be permitted to pose as a lover of freedom by his colleagues. A political scientist who writes that the Communist International was organized to defend the Soviet Union against invasion, where its existence was actually planned even before the October Revolution, or who invents a legend about there being two General Vlassovs in order to uphold the fiction that all the Russians rallied to Stalin's regime after Hitler's invasion, or who affirms that Trotsky was a fascist whose dealings with the Nazis were proved, and that he was assassinated by a bone fide member of his own organization who objected to his plotting with Martin Dies to overthrow the American government—such a man should have his credentials to competent scholarship questioned by his peers. Finally, anyone who professed to be appalled at Stalin's regime of terror but who claims that the report of Hitler's atrocities were exaggerated and either justifies or is evasive about the brutal suppression of all democratic opposition in Spain should be subjected to the same critical exposure.

"It is not the fact that these men lack imagination to comprehend the sufferings of the victims of totalitarian oppression, or the compassion to feel akin to the innocent and unjustly accused, or the courage to make an open and total commitment to a new political religion, which chiefly evidences their absence of academic integrity. Whatever failings they reveal on this score are the failings of human beings no matter what their vocations. Scholars or shoemakers may be morally insensitive, cruel, mean, and cowardly, and still turn out competent books or well-made boots. What crucially defines the treason to *academic* integrity on the part of these non-party scholars I have described is not (338) even their violation of the canons of inquiry, which may be only occasional. It is their defense of, or silent acquiescence in, the use of police methods against their colleagues abroad—and what police methods!—to suppress ideas not countenanced in any field by party dogma, and their direct and indirect support in this country of a movement which wherever it comes to power aims to destroy every vestige of academic freedom. These 'defenders' of academic freedom are its grave-diggers.



“Not even the most slippery apologist can deny that Communist regimes neither believe in nor practice academic freedom. It is no part of academic freedom for teachers anywhere to use the classroom as concealed members of a political party to ‘inject’ party dogmas into teaching, and ‘to take advantage of their position without exposing themselves’—as the Communist party urges its members to do. The astronomers and geneticists, the artists and the historians who are purged in the Soviet Union are not punished for acting the way Communist party teachers do in the West, but for holding ‘wrong’ beliefs or for insufficient enthusiasm about ‘right’ ones—‘wrong’ and ‘right’ ultimately depending on the fiat of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist party. It is certainly permissible—although I believe mistaken—for an individual to argue that despite everything members of the Communist party who are teaching in our schools and colleges should be completely unmolested. But when this is coupled with an ambiguous attitude toward the elimination not only of the academic freedom of teachers but often of their persons in Soviet Russia and other countries, what can this betoken but an utter lack of academic integrity? And we may include those in this judgment who up to yesterday have refused to protest academic practices in Communist countries but who now make brief and hasty references to the Soviet practice as a kind of rhetorical strategy in their campaign for the retention of Communist party members in this country.

“Public criticism of the academic fellow-traveller will not be easy. Some of the totalitarian liberals who vigorously denounce administrative measures in this country and urge that things be settled in the free market place of ideas are the first to utter shrill cries of ‘Red-baiter!’ as soon as they and their friends are subjected to criticism. What they really desire is complete immunity from criticism.

“Whether we are aware of it or not, whether we like it or not, the groves of the academy have become one of the battlefields in the current struggle for freedom whose outcome will determine the pattern of culture for centuries to come. Whatever may be true for other battlefields, in the academy we must see to it that the struggle is fought under the same rules of the game which in the past have led in so many fields to clarification and new knowledge. But no one has a right to invoke the rules of the game when he is detected violating them. The man of academic integrity is prepared to learn from anyone. As a scholar he recognizes no doctrines as subversive. For him doctrines are only valid or invalid in the light of objective evidence and logical inference. That is why he is responsible for keeping the source of knowledge free from contamination by secret political storm troopers—Communist or others. That is why he must be prepared to take up the struggle, without the help of the state or the regents or the administration, against the obscurantists and professional innocents who would destroy the conditions of honest intellectual inquiry. He will have to fight on many fronts—against misguided patriots, clerical fascists, and those who are maddened by Communist intrigue into foolishness that may be harmful to free institutions.

"It is a pity that so much intellectual energy must go into the defense of values which in happier times were taken for granted as integral to the life of scholarship. But it is precisely these values which are today under attack. If they die, academic integrity dies, and with it academic freedom." (From: *Academic Integrity and Academic Freedom*, by Sidney Hook. *Commentary Magazine*, October, 1949, pages 329-339).

### FACULTY UNITS

From about 1923 until 1942 the attention of the Communist Party in California was concentrated on the University of California at Berkeley so far as recruiting was concerned. A Communist Party book shop sprang up within a block of the main gate of the university campus; and in the vicinity of that gate, but off of the university premises there were the usual series of speeches, demonstrations, the distribution of propaganda leaflets and pamphlets, and the run-of-the-mill agitation and activity that we have been accustomed to expect from Communist youth organizations at the campuses of most of the larger universities in the country. In the meantime there was a subtle endeavor to insinuate throughout the faculty a few secret members of the Communist Party. These individuals did not ordinarily subscribe to the *Western Worker*, which was, until December, 1937, the official organ of the Communist Party in California, nor to the *Daily People's World* which succeeded it. They were not encouraged to attend Communist-front meetings nor were they encouraged to associate with the more militant members of the Communist Party. On the contrary they were organized in a tightly-knit little group on the campus which was usually known as the professional section of the Communist Party of Alameda County, and later as the special section of the Communist Party of Alameda County. The identity of these secret faculty members was concealed even from the other members of the Communist Party apparatus in the county. Frequently at political meetings where they were addressed by the county organizer, who was the top official for the party organization in Alameda County, they were not even introduced to each other and their identities were even kept a secret from the organizer himself. So carefully was this faculty unit of the Communist Party handled that membership cards were not issued to the members in most instances, and they were regarded as members at large. The meetings of the campus unit were usually held in one of the member's homes, and the other members were picked up in automobiles and taken there without any advance notice where the meeting would be held.

After the university had established a campus in the City of Los Angeles, some attention was paid by the Party organization in that county to infiltration of the faculty and student body, but it was negligible compared to the activity in Berkeley. The committee was puzzled for some time at the apparent soft-pedaling of recruiting activities on the Berkeley campus in 1942 and the simultaneous acceleration of similar activities at U. C. L. A. With the testimony of Mr. Paul Crouch, who was



in charge of all Party activities in Alameda County, the wonderment at this change was dissipated.

In 1942 there was a great deal of critical research going on at the university campus in Berkeley dealing with the atomic bomb and other strategic research enterprises in which the Communist Party was greatly interested. It was deemed expedient to divert attention from Communist operations at Berkeley by transferring the agitational activities, the propagandizing, the passing out of leaflets at the main gate of the university, and the other recruiting activities to U. C. L. A., and concentrating on undercover work of far greater importance at the seat of the university in Berkeley. Accordingly, there was a great surge of recruiting activity at the campus in Los Angeles and a corresponding diminishing of such activity in Berkeley. Simultaneously, however, in Alameda County there appeared a great many individuals who were known to investigators as espionage agents for the Soviet Union. Prominent among these was Steve Nelson, and an organizer of a scientific union which did great work in the espionage field. This man's name was Marcel Scherer, and he spent considerable time in Alameda County organizing a branch of a Communist-controlled scientific union which infiltrated its members into such strategic places as the Shell Development Company in Emeryville, California, and among the personnel of the radiation laboratory at the University of California campus in Berkeley.

Since 1943, therefore, most of the recruiting activity so far as the University of California is concerned, has been concentrated at U. C. L. A. rather than at Berkeley, although Berkeley is the seat of the university and the decisions are there made that affect all of the eight campuses of the world's greatest educational institution.

### WRITERS' CONGRESS

In December, 1941, there appeared in Hollywood an organization which was known as the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. It comprised those people who were employed as writers in the motion picture industry—scenario writers, members of the Screen Writers' Guild, the Screen Publicists Guild, and anyone who was in any way connected with the writing profession in the motion picture industry. This organization at first appeared to be entirely innocent. Its members volunteered their services to write speeches for public officials, to write plays and skits for production at army and navy installations, and to generally assist with the prosecution of the war effort in any way they could. It was not long, however, before this committee began to regard the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization with a good deal of suspicion. In examining the dossiers of some of its officers, the committee found that they had impressive records of participation in a long array of Communist-front organizations. Many of them had been teachers at People's Educational Center, which was the Communist Party school for Los Angeles County. One of the stalwarts in the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization was John Howard Lawson, who was recently convicted of contempt of the Congressional Committee

on Un-American Activities and sent to a federal penitentiary. In scrutinizing the record of Mr. Lawson, the committee was literally amazed at the long history of Communist activity in which he had engaged. This led the committee to make exhaustive studies of the members of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, and the result was a conviction on the committee's part that the organization was Communist-dominated from top to bottom, although most of its members were not Communists. It was a typical example of an organization that was conceived, created, infiltrated and dominated by a handful of fanatic Communist Party members, and the use to which they put the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization to further the cause of Communism should constitute a lesson for every educational administrator in the United States.

When the committee learned that a delegation from this organization had contacted certain officials from the University of California in Los Angeles and proposed that the university join with the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization in sponsoring a Writers' Congress which was to be held on the campus of the University of California in Los Angeles in October, 1943, the committee gathered together a great mass of photostatic documents, which Senator Jack B. Tenney, then the Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, sent to the President of the University of California at Berkeley, warning that the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization was nothing more nor less than a Communist-controlled organization.

Whether or not the letter and the documents ever reached Dr. Sproul the committee has never learned. It does know that the letter was never answered and the receipt of the documentary proof was never acknowledged. It also knows that the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization was completely successful in fooling the administrative heads of the University of California with the result that the Writers' Congress was held on the campus of the University of California in Berkeley commencing on October 1, 1943.

This was by no means the first Writers' Congress which the Communist Party had operated in the United States. As a matter of fact, one had been held in San Francisco several years previously, and its Communist Party control at that time was quite obvious even to the most naive observer. There were many non-Communists, of course, who attended the affair completely unaware that they were invited simply to lend the function a flavor of patriotic and cultural dignity. The real purpose, from the Party's viewpoint, however, was to create a cultural medium through which the undercover Communists in the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization could be brought into intimate and disarming contact with influential members of the state university.

The Writers' Congress at U. C. L. A. was given the full Hollywood treatment. John Howard Lawson, ex-*Daily Worker* staff member, chatted cozily with university officials, and in turn introduced his own close associates to them. Greetings were received from the President of the United States. The opening session was addressed by Dr. Sproul, president of the university. Among those who participated in the discussion

groups, lectures and other activities were the following-named members of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, all now under sentence for contempt of Congress: John Howard Lawson, Dalton Trumbo, Edward Dmytryk, Ring Lardner, Jr. Others were: Phyllis Bentley, Owen Lattimore, Lion Feuchtwanger, Adrian Scott, Sidney Buchman, Harry Kurnitz, Sam Moore, Fred Rinaldo, Dudley Nichols, Robert Rossen, Franklin Fearing, Leonard Bloom, Charlotta Bass, Harry Hoiyer, Canada Lee, Carey McWilliams, Milton Merlin, Sam Ornitz, Ralph Beals, Gordon Kahn, Allen Rivkin, Alexander Kaun, Joris Ivens, Kenneth MacGowan, Hanns Eisler, Norman Corwin, Arch Oboler, E. Y. Harburg, Sheridan Gibney, Howard Koch, Frank Tuttle, Edward Chodorov, Howard Estabrook, Paul Trivers, Guy Endore, Michael Kanin, Earl Robinson, Francis Faragoh, Hy Kraft, Adrian Scott and Pauline Lauber Finn. (From: *Proceedings of the Writers' Congress*, University of California press, 1944, 633 pages).

The Congress was opened on October 1, 1943, with an address of welcome by Dr. Sproul, whose first words were:

"Out of the tumult and the shouting of the papers and the politicians we welcome the Writers' Congress of 1943 \* \* \*"

A Writers' Congress had also been held at U. C. L. A. in 1941. Apparently aware of the criticism of the Congress by the press and the members of the state legislature—principally by members of its Committee on Unamerican Activities, he concluded:

"If it be treason to cooperate with the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States in time of war, then and only then does this university plead guilty at the bar of public opinion as it opens this Writers' Congress of 1943." (Id., pages 3-5).

The late Lt. Col. Evans Carlson, who had joined numerous Communist fronts after establishing his postwar residence in Southern California, criticized the armed forces of the United States and praised the Chinese Communist Eighth Route Army. He said: "I have been strongly of the opinion, since first I began to reflect seriously on our way of life, that it is both incongruous and inconsistent for our armed forces to be organized and governed by aristocratic methods \* \* \* I experimented mildly with this theory when I commanded native troops in Nicaragua back in 1933. It worked. But it was not until I marched with China's Eighth Route Army (Communists) that I saw the theory in practice on a large scale \* \* \* " (Id., pages 19-20). What had this to do with writing? We were at war, and at this Writers' Congress a retired Marine Lt. Colonel was criticizing the "aristocratic" methods of our armed forces while he praised the "democratic" Communist army of China.

Robert Rossen, during his speech said: "Right here in this town, in Hollywood, I've heard writers say, when Hitler first overran France that the machine had finally triumphed and that, since Hitler controlled the machines of destruction, the people, even though they wanted to resist, had absolutely no chance, and that they would accept this fate.

But the people did resist and the lie was given to this theory in history. They resisted so well that the part their resistance played is paying off right now in the terms of our coming victory. And out of this resistance a new kind of hero was born. This hero has been around for a long time—he was in China, in Spain, in France, in Russia, in all the countries of the world where free men would not bend their necks. He's here, in America, and he's been here for a long time, too. He's all over, waiting for us to write him, and if we are to survive as writers, we're not going to be what my friend called 'dead pigeons,' we've got to put this hero on the screen."

Now, what "heroes" is Mr. Rossen talking about? Who were the "free men" who wouldn't bend their necks in China? The Chinese Communists. In Spain? The boys of the International Brigade, the Republicans, the Spanish Communists. In France? The Revolutionists. In Yugoslavia? The Tito Communists. In Russia? The Bolsheviks. In America? The American Communists. Who else?

Joris Ivens, in a talk on "The Documentary Film and Morale," quotes Kournakoff's *Russian Fighting Forces* as his basic authority on military morale, and plugged the Soviet writers and Russian films. (Id. 75-79).

It should be noted that Hanns Eisler, after whom an entire section of the Los Angeles County Young Communist League was named, inserted no propaganda into his address. Why? Simply because he was an alien, a Communist of international stature, the brother of Gerhart Eisler, the Comintern representative to the Communist Party of the United States. He was taking no chances.

#### HOLLYWOOD QUARTERLY

As an aftermath of this Writers' Congress it was decided by a committee of U. C. L. A. administrative officials and representatives of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization to launch a magazine which would be called the *Hollywood Quarterly*. Dr. Franklin Fearing, for the university, and John Howard Lawson, for the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, were the prime movers in this enterprise. The administrators of the university carefully scrutinized the first few issues of the new publication for "definitive evidence" of Communist propaganda. Finding no hammers and sickles and no urging the forcible overthrow of our government in so many words, they apparently concluded that the magazine was harmless and it has been published by the university ever since.

Through the medium of the *Hollywood Quarterly*, an intimate liaison has been maintained between the Hollywood Communists and the university in Los Angeles. The heads of the university saw nothing peculiar in the personnel that actually ran their magazine; the majority of this personnel have impressive records of horsing about with Communist schools, Communist fronts, and Communist Party members like Lawson and Trumbo. Any student of Communist techniques is quite aware of the fact that any publication started by Lawson and staffed by his most



intimate associates would necessarily be used for the benefit of Communism—as, of course, it is. The actual launching of the *Hollywood Quarterly* was celebrated by a meeting which was held in the home of the late Dr. Clarence Dykstra, on the seventh day of November, 1945, at his residence, 10570 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, California. To show how intimately the contact between representatives of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and the Provost of U. C. L. A., a position then held by Dr. Dykstra, had become, the following people were among those present: John Howard Lawson, Earl Robinson, Abraham Polonsky, Calvin Kuhl, Sylvia Lardner, and others.

The meat of the matter is that here, again, the dignity and prestige of the university was being used to clothe a traitorous enterprise with respectability. The staff of the *Hollywood Quarterly*, virtually all of them being individuals of the same political persuasion, and having been closely associated together in many similar ventures, accepted articles from otherwise obscure motion picture and radio writers, who thereby have become clothed with an aura of culture, learning and prestige.

Mr. Lawson and his associates were not so stupid as to put obvious Communist propaganda in a publication of this character—which would destroy its value to them for more subtle and practical purposes. By the same token, and for the same reason, the Party is far too smart to allow its secret members on university faculties to destroy their usefulness by advocating Communism in the classrooms.

A careful study of the *Hollywood Quarterly* will disclose, however, that no statements condemning Communist propaganda have ever been printed; that the works of anti-Communists are either never mentioned, or get bad reviews; that the works of "liberal" and "progressive" writers are habitually printed or eulogized; that the quarterly is sold by every Communist book store in the State of California.

Having found the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization to be a Communist-dominated organization in 1945, this committee was naturally pleased to see its finding verified when the Department of Justice declared the organization to be a Communist-front organization in 1948. The *coup de grace* was delivered in 1950 by Lewis F. Budenz, when he declared on page 220 of his book, *Men Without Faces*, and appropriately enough in a chapter that was headed *Capture of the Innocents*, the exact procedure by which the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization managed to fool the administrators of the University of California into joining hands with this Communist-dominated organization. Mr. Budenz says:

"One day in 1943, Trachtenberg reported that 'amazing progress' was being made among certain American scientists; and Berman, who was section organizer for New York's artists, writers and actors, gave a glowing account of advances in Manhattan and Hollywood. It was an optimistic session. Then I proposed that we capitalize on these 'gains' to strengthen the Party's leadership among American intellectuals of all kinds. The best way, I suggested, would be to channel our present strength into a committee for the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt. Naturally, it would be completely under



Red domination. We knew, of course, that the same Red professionals who had denounced the President as 'another Hitler' in 1940 could be counted on to cheer him now, if told to.

"My proposal was enthusiastically accepted, and we decided that Trachtenberg and Berman should take it to the Politburo for approval. The approval was quickly given, for the Politburo had been experimenting on a smaller scale on a somewhat similar idea. To test its possibilities, they had ordered the comrades in the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, lead by John Howard Lawson, to work out a writers' congress. Under the direction of Trachtenberg, Jerome and the Politburo, the comrades on the coast had persuaded Dr. Robert Sproul, President of the University of California, to lend them the campus for a meeting place and to let them use the university's name as a co-sponsor of the event. Under its win-the-war dress, the Congress had been successful—and a marked triumph for the Party."

It has been a source of wonder to the committee that the university officials have paid more attention to the blandishments of such Communists as Lawson, Trumbo, et.al., to the vast injury of the university's reputation, than to the documented warnings of the state legislature's Committee on Un-American Activities; warnings which, if heeded, would have prevented such harmful publicity.

Volume IV, No. 1, of the fall, 1949, issue of the *Hollywood Quarterly* lists the following individuals as members of the editorial staff: Franklin Fearing, Professor of Psychology on the U. C. L. A. campus; Irving Pichel, motion picture actor, writer, and director; Kenneth MacGowan, former motion picture writer and director, and now teaching at the U. C. L. A. campus; Abraham Polonsky, motion picture actor; Franklin P. Rolfe, and Sylvia Jarriico.

As an illustration of the success with which the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization managed to launch the *Hollywood Quarterly*, and as an illustration of the type of individuals who were placed on the editorial staff of the magazine, the committee deems it important to cite the documented records of the individuals;

Franklin Fearing has been a member of or affiliated with the following Communist front organizations, as reported by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the Congress of the United States:

1. **Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo.** Other persons connected with this organization were: Lewis Allen Berne, Ben Gold, Donald Henderson, Mervyn Rathborne, Marcel Scherer, Arthur Garfield Hays, Robert W. Kenny, Lee Pressman, Paul Robeson, Louis Adamic, Van Wyck Brooks, Lillian Hellman, Dashiell Hammett, Langston Hughes, Freda Kirchwey, Clifford Odets, George Seldes, Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach, Prof. Thomas Addis, Mary Van Kleek.
2. **Hollywood Writers' Mobilization.** Other individuals connected with this organization were: Dr. Thomas Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Earl Robinson, Robert Rossen, Charlotta Bass, Prof. Harry Hoiyer, Carey McWilliams, Samuel Ornitz, Dalton Trumbo,

- Prof. Kenneth MacGowan, Hans Eisler, John Howard Lawson, Ring Lardner, Jr., Edward Dmytryk, Frank Tuttle, Paul Trivers, Guy Endore and—Pauline Lauber Finn.
3. *League of American Writers.* Other individuals associated with this organization were: John Howard Lawson, Frank Tuttle, Irving Pichel, Edward Dmytryk, Lion Feuchtwanger, Roman Bohnen, Robert Rossen, Lester Cole.
  4. *Writers' Congresses.* Other individuals affiliated with the Writers' Congress Committee were: John Howard Lawson, Robert Rossen, Kenneth MacGowan, and—Pauline Lauber Finn.
  5. *People's Educational Center.* Other individuals listed as teachers at this Communist school in Southern California were: Alvah Bessie, Herbert Biberman, Edward Dmytryk, Guy Endore, Sanford Goldner, John Howard Lawson, Frank Tuttle, Irving Pichel, Kenneth MacGowan, Professor Harry Hoijer.
  6. *American Youth for Democracy.* Other individuals and sponsors connected with this organization were: Charlotta Bass, Edward Dmytryk, Lion Feuchtwanger, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Dr. Thomas Mann, Professor Harry Hoijer, Harry S. Jung, Robert W. Kenny, Earl Robinson, Samuel Ornitz, Dalton Trumbo.
  7. *Institute for Labor Education and World Peace.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: David Jenkins, Professor Holland Roberts, John Howard Lawson, and David Adelson.
  8. *Hollywood Community Radio Group.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: Pauline Lauber Finn, Abraham Polonsky, Dr. Linus Pauling, Professor Harry Hoijer, Carey McWilliams, Professor Kenneth MacGowan, Robert W. Kenny, Paul Jarrico.
  9. *American Jewish Congress.* Other persons affiliated with this organization at the 1948 convention held in Los Angeles were: Daniel G. Marshall, Philip Connelly, Carey McWilliams, Charles Katz.
  10. *American-Russian Cultural Exchange.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: John Howard Lawson, Professor Harry Hoijer, Professor Kenneth MacGowan, Dr. Thomas Mann, Professor Holland Roberts, Dorothea Eltenton, Albert Maltz.
  11. *Citizens Committee for the Motion Picture Strikers.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams, Edward Dmytryk, Albert Maltz.
  12. *Emergency Legislative Conference.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: Carey McWilliams, John Howard Lawson, Robert W. Kenny, Hugh Bryson.
  13. *Hollywood Independent Citizen's Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.* Other persons connected with this organization: John Howard Lawson, Robert W. Kenny, Professor Kenneth MacGowan, Dr. Thomas Mann, Irving Pichel, Earl Robinson, Herman Shumlin, Dalton Trumbo, Frank Tuttle, Dr. Linus Pauling.

14. *Mobilization for Democracy.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: Robert W. Kenny, Carey McWilliams, John Howard Lawson, Philip N. Connelly and—Pauline Lauber Finn.

Irving Pichel has been associated with the following Communist-dominated organizations:

1. *Artists' Front to Win the War.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: J. Edward Bromberg, Morris Carnovsky, Herman Shumlin, Frank Tuttle, Paul Robeson, Earl Robinson, Muriel Draper, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Bruce Minton, Robert Rossen, George Seldes, Donald Ogden Stewart, Dalton Trumbo, William Gropper, Professor Frank C. Davis, Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor F. O. Matthiessen, Professor Morris U. Schappes.
2. *Hollywood Democratic Committee.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: John Howard Lawson, Edward Dmytryk, Frank Tuttle, Earl Robinson.
3. *Motion Picture Artists' Committee.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: Edward Dmytryk, Dashiell Hammett, Donald Ogden Stewart, Gale Sondergaard, John Howard Lawson, Professor Kenneth MacGowan, Lewis Milestone, Robert Rossen, Frank Tuttle.
4. *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: Herbert Biberman, Charles Katz, Robert W. Kenny, Frank Tuttle, Lewis Milestone.
5. *Hollywood League for Democratic Action.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: Herbert Biberman, Charles Katz, Robert W. Kenny, Lewis Milestone.
6. *League of American Writers, Hollywood School.* Other individuals connected with this organization, which was instrumental in launching the Communist Party school in Southern California, were: Frank Tuttle, Edward Dmytryk, Nora Helgren, Lester Cole, Robert Rossen, John Howard Lawson, Professor Franklin Fearing.
7. *New Masses, Wire to France Seeking Aid for Loyalist Spain.* Other individuals who signed this pro-Communist telegram were: Dashiell Hammett, Lillian Hellman, Lewis Milestone, J. Edward Bromberg, Ring Lardner, Jr., Robert Rossen.
8. *People's Educational Center,* the Communist school for Southern California. Other individuals listed as instructors during the winter term, 1947, were: Herbert Biberman, Edward Dmytryk, Professor Kenneth MacGowan.
9. *Progressive Citizens of America.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: Charlotta Bass, Edward Biberman, Philip N. Connelly, Earl Robinson, Charles Katz, Robert W. Kenny, John Howard Lawson, Harold Orr, Dr. Linus Pauling, Dalton Trumbo, Frank Tuttle.

10. *Conference on Thought Control in Southern California.* Others connected with this organization were: John Howard Lawson, Robert W. Kenny, Dalton Trumbo, Professor Harlow Shapley, Harold Orr, Donald Ogden Stewart.
11. *American League for Peace and Democracy.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: Donald Ogden Stewart, John Howard Lawson, Robert W. Kenny, Samuel Ornitz, Morris Carnovsky, Mervin Rathborn, Herman Shumlin, Earl Browder, Lewis Allen Berne, Abram Flaxer.
12. *Conference on American-Russian Cultural Exchange.* Others connected with this organization were: Professor Franklin Fearing, John Howard Lawson, Professor Kenneth MacGowan, Professor Harry Hoiyer, Dr. Thomas Mann, Professor Holland Roberts, Dorothea Eltenton, Albert Maltz.
13. *Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.* Others connected with this organization were: Professor Franklin Fearing, Robert W. Kenny, John Howard Lawson, Professor Kenneth MacGowan, Dr. Thomas Mann, Lewis Milestone, Earl Robinson, Herman Shumlin, Dalton Trumbo, Frank Tuttle, Dr. Linus Pauling.
14. *Arts, Sciences and Professions Council.* Other members of this organization were: Charlotta Bass, Edward Biberman, Charles Katz, Robert W. Kenny, John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams, Harold Orr, Dr. Linus Pauling, Earl Robinson, Adrian Scott, Dalton Trumbo, Frank Tuttle and Roman Bohnen.
15. *United Spanish Aid Committee.* Others connected with this organization were: Professor Frank C. Davis, Carey McWilliams, Herman Shumlin, Frank Tuttle.

Kenneth MacGowan has been affiliated with the following Communist-dominated organizations:

1. *Hollywood Democratic Committee*, (see names listed above).
2. *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*, (see names listed above).
3. *People's Educational Center*, an instructor. (See names listed above.)
4. *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.* (See names listed above.)
5. *Hollywood Community Radio Group.* (See names listed above.)
6. *Second California Legislative Conference.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: John Howard Lawson, Robert W. Kenny, Philip N. Connelly, Carey McWilliams, Harold Orr and Pauline Lauber Finn.
7. *Actors Laboratory Theatre.* Others connected with this organization were: Morris Carnovsky, J. Edward Bromberg, Charles Katz, Ring Lardner, Jr., Albert Maltz, Lewis Milestone, Samuel Ornitz, Donald Ogden Stewart, and Alva Bessie.
8. *American Committee for Yugoslav Relief* (Prior to the break between Tito and the Cominform). Others connected with this organization were: Professor Thomas Addis, C. M. Dykstra, provost at



the University of California in Los Angeles, Howard Fast, William Gropper, Langston Hughes, Albert Maltz, Dr. Thomas Mann, Dalton Trumbo, Lee Bachelis.

9. *Conference on American-Russian Cultural Relations.* (See names listed above.)
10. *Citizens' Committee for the Motion Picture Strikers.* (See names listed above.)

Abraham Polonsky has been connected with the following Communist-dominated organizations:

1. *Hollywood Community Radio Group.* (See names listed above.)
2. *Actors' Laboratory Theatre.* (See names listed above.)
3. *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization.* (See names listed above.)

Franklin P. Rolfe has no record of affiliation with Communist-dominated organizations, so far as this committee has been able to determine. Sylvia Jarrico is the wife of Paul Jarrico, a writer. The committee has no record of Mrs. Jarrico's connection with any Communist-dominated organization, other than her indirect connection with the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and the Writers' Congress. The record of her husband, Paul Jarrico, is such, however, that the committee deems it appropriate to list the organizations with which he was affiliated as follows:

1. *Artists' Front to Win the War.* (See names listed above.)
2. *Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: Professor Thomas Addis, Morris Carnovsky, Dashiell Hammett, John Howard Lawson, Paul Robeson, George Seldes, Herman Shumlin, Donald Ogden Stewart, Philip N. Connelly.
3. *League of American Writers.* (See names listed above.)
4. *National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.* Other individuals connected with this organization were: Louis Adamic, Professor Thomas Addis, Alvah Bessie, Morris Carnovsky, Professor Frank C. Davis, Muriel Draper, Langston Hughes, Freda Kirchway, Abram Flaxer, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Professor Ralph H. Gundlach, Albert Maltz, Paul Robeson, Earl Robinson, Carey McWilliams, George Seldes, Herbert Biberman.
5. *Hollywood Community Radio Group.* (See names listed above.)
6. *Message to Congress Against the Dies Committee.* Other individuals who signed this appeal for the discontinuation of an investigation of Communist Activities by the Congress of the United States were: Louis Adamic, Morris Carnovsky, Muriel Draper, Langston Hughes, Freda Kirchway, Abram Flaxer, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Donald Ogden Stewart, Albert Maltz, Frank Tuttle.

Although the personnel that comprised the editorial staff of the *Hollywood Quarterly* has been changed from time to time, it is significant, in the committee's opinion, that a majority of the members thereof have always been individuals with long and impressive records of Communist



affiliations—either through Communist-front organizations, active participation in Communist-sponsored activities, or by actively participating directly in enterprises in which the Communist Party was the prime mover such as teaching at the Communist school in Southern California. It seems peculiar that a university as large as the University of California, with all of the financial wealth at its command and with all of the faculty personnel that occupy its eight campuses, could not find at least four or five individuals who were competent to act as members of the editorial staff of the *Hollywood Quarterly*, and who had records of good, solid, Americanism, instead of having records such as those cited above. It also seems significant that although the publication was launched more than five years ago, the situation still remains unchanged. It should be added that in each issue of the magazine, which appears in January, April, July and October, there is a slip which reads as follows:

*"Hollywood Quarterly, University of California Press, Berkeley 4, California."*

On the inside front cover of the publication the interested reader is informed that the magazine is published by the University of California Press and that all correspondence about contributions and other editorial matters should be sent to 350 Royce Hall, University of California, Los Angeles 24, California. The subscription price is \$4 a year, and single copies sell for \$1.25 each. The publication was entered as second-class matter at the post office in Berkeley, California, on October 25, 1945, and the contents of the publication are copyrighted by the Regents of the University of California.

As has been heretofore stated, representatives of this committee have made a careful investigation of all of the Communist Party book stores throughout the State of California and have found that the *Hollywood Quarterly* is prominently displayed on the shelves at each book shop. The committee representatives were unable to find that the publication was carried on the stands of the average book store or on magazine racks, and only in three instances have committee investigators been able to find that even in the larger book stores were copies of the *Hollywood Quarterly* displayed for sale.

In connection with Professor MacGowan, formerly connected with the motion picture business in Hollywood, and who was appointed a Professor of Theatre Arts at U. C. L. A. in 1946, the committee desires to point out again, as it has already pointed out in a previous report, that on the fourteenth day of June, 1946, a communication was sent from the University of California to the committee's counsel asking for information concerning the background of Mr. MacGowan. The information was forwarded to the university on the seventeenth day of June, 1946, setting forth the fact that Mr. MacGowan's record included participation in the organizations that have been listed above, and that in 1935 and 1939 he was an officer of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, that he was an officer in the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, an officer in the Writers' Congress at U. C. L. A., and that in 1944 he taught motion

picture direction as a member of the faculty of the Communist school in Hollywood which was then operating under the name of the People's Educational Center and located at 1717 North Vine Street, Hollywood, California. The committee also pointed out that Mr. MacGowan, in 1946 was an officer of the Hollywood Independent Citizen's Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and was partially responsible for the activities that immediately preceded the launching of the *Hollywood Quarterly*. He had been teaching at the University of California in Los Angeles since 1946.

The predominant overtone of the *Quarterly* is to present various techniques whereby motion picture productions can operate to mold mass thinking on social and political subjects. There is, to be sure, other material; but the great emphasis is on propaganda techniques rather than entertainment. Whether this tone may be attributed to Mr. Fearing, the psychologist who seems to have taken up the field of motion picture writing as a sideline, and editing and book reviewing as a hobby, and also as having done these things simultaneously with the appearance of Volume I, No. 1, of the *Quarterly*, is difficult to say. The committee can say, positively, that Dr. Fearing was listed as one of the lecturers at the People's Educational Center, which, as has already been pointed out, was the Communist Party school in Southern California. In the first of the two numbers of the *Quarterly* mentioned above, the following articles deal with the social and political propaganda techniques, as follows:

1. Aspects of War and Revolution in the Theatre and Film of the Weimar Republic.
2. Movies' Role in Hitler's Conquest of German Youth.
3. The Emergence of a New Film Industry.
4. Domestic Movies of the O. W. I.

The second number contains:

1. The International Scene and the American Documentary.
2. The Book Review Sections, conducted by Professor Fearing, hands praise to such warm friends as John Howard Lawson, of whose book he says:

"Throughout the book the author is concerned not only with the techniques of a craft, but also with forms of communication and the social forces which underly them. This is an emphasis that will make this volume significant for the psychologist and sociologist as well as for the professional writer."

Volume I, No. 1 of this publication was issued in October, 1945, as "A professional and scholarly journal devoted to radio and motion pictures." Its editorial staff comprised three representatives from the university and two from the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization—thus apparently giving the university a majority. There was Prof. Franklin Fearing from the Psychology Department, Prof. Franklin Rolfe from the English Department, Samuel T. Farquhar, the university printer, and John Howard Lawson and Kenneth MacGowan, who represented the

Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. A quick glance at Fearing's record of participation in Communist-front organizations and enterprises will convince anyone—almost anyone, that is—that the university only *thought* it had a majority on the board.

The late Mr. Samuel Farquhar, certainly an anti-Communist, told the Committee that Mr. Lawson never should have been put on the board in the first place—but he had seen no propaganda in the magazine. To illustrate how an untrained person can fail—and quite naturally—to understand the more subtle Communist techniques, we quote a portion of his testimony which was originally published on pages 108-109 of the committee's 1947 report:

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mr. Farquhar, may I make just one observation, and this is by way of assumption; this is merely a hypothetical case: Assume that a front organization such as the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization was, as we have reason to believe it is, a Communist front organization, and they wish to divest themselves of suspicion and clothe themselves with dignity and respect, and they could persuade an institution such as the University of California to join hands with them in the joint publication of a magazine, even if it were a Sears Roebuck catalog, or something entirely without any subversive taint; don't you think that the mere fact that they were engaged jointly in an enterprise like that with an institution like the University of California would add immeasurably to their prestige?

A. I think it would, yes.

Q. That is one purpose they could gain?

A. That's correct. I see your point.

Q. Without printing one word of subversive material in it?

A. Yes.”

#### COMMUNIST SCHOOL AND STATE UNIVERSITY

One would naturally assume that following a hearing on the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and its leaders—particularly Lawson—a hearing which the committee in fact held in 1945, that the university would be alert to avoid such unfortunate affairs in the future. But in 1946 the California Labor School in San Francisco, the Communist Party recruiting and educational center, wheedled the executive officials of the university into joining with it in a joint venture on the Berkeley campus which they called an Institute on Labor, Education and World Peace. The Writers' Congress had been bad enough. This affair was much worse.

The California Labor School can hardly even qualify as a front organization. It is simply a continuation of the old San Francisco Communist Party Workers' School under another name. Such a technique is common in Communist Party activities, and we have already seen an example of how the Young Communist League changed its name first to American Youth for Democracy and finally to the Labor Youth League under which it now functions. The Workers' School in San Francisco originally was proclaimed even by the official Communist newspaper as being the official Communist Party school. It later changed its name to

the Tom Mooney Labor School and finally to the California Labor School under which it now operates. The California Committee on Un-American Activities listed this institution as Communist-controlled in 1946, and the United States Department of Justice made a similar finding in 1948.

For a solid week before the institute commenced its two-day run on the campus at Berkeley, the affair was widely advertised in the Communist press and by placards on display in the Communist book shop within a block of the main entrance to the campus. The ubiquitous John Howard Lawson was scheduled to appear—and so were scores of Bay area Party members.

The California Labor School, no doubt encouraged by the ease with which the Hollywood Writers had duped the university, experienced no difficulty whatever in executing the same identical trick. There was simply no excuse whatever for this blunder which brought torrents of unfavorable publicity on the university. If the heads of the university had taken the trouble to use their police facilities—located in the same building on the Berkeley campus as is the administrative and executive office—it would have been a simple matter to find out all about the subversive character of the California Labor School. The material was there. This committee had already characterized the school as a part of the Party apparatus in press releases, but the disclosures did no good so far as the university was concerned.

Some of the individuals who attended the two-day meeting on the campus of the University of California in Berkeley were Professor Franklin Fearing, who had been so active with Lawson in the U. C. L. A. Writers' Congress and in guiding the destinies of the *Hollywood Quarterly*; David Jenkins, the Director of the Labor School who later admitted his membership in the Communist Party in New York, and who testified that he personally selected some of the persons who participated in the various panel discussions; Dalton Trumbo, heretofore mentioned; Dr. Holland Roberts, of the California Labor School; Dr. David Adelson, President of the Alameda County Chapter of the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, and other persons whose names are familiar to the readers of the reports heretofore issued by this committee.

Here, then, was an amazing occurrence. One of the world's greatest institutions of learning aiding and abetting an international conspiracy, the prime objective of which was the overthrow of the American form of government, together with its free educational institutions and political freedom, its academic freedom, and all of the other things that universities should be so interested in preserving. The university had already done precisely that on its U. C. L. A. campus, and now it was lending the Berkeley campus to the Communist educational and recruiting center—also one of the greatest institutions of its character. No person in his right mind would open his home to a gang of criminals and expose his family to peril. Yet the trusting and uninformed heads of the university threw open the portals of the campus to persons sworn to rip apart



our most cherished and sacred institutions—agents of a foreign conspiracy. These are the cold facts, incredible though they appear. It is plain that if these “guests” of the state university were allowed to pursue their activities unhampered, unexposed to public scrutiny, the very books in that university would be re-written, as they have been in Russian schools, and in the schools of the various countries that have been Stalinized within the last few years; the professors who act insulted because they are asked to stand up and be counted at a time when American soldiers are being slaughtered by Communists in Korea, would then have no academic freedom—or any sort of freedom, for that matter. And if those to whom the parents have entrusted their children persist in airily brushing aside the terrible menace that has stared us all in the face for the past 30 years, and through sheer ignorance even aid and abet, however innocently, the Communist conspiracy in this Country, then this committee, at least, believes it is high time they were replaced by people who take a more realistic attitude toward such a serious condition.

#### INSTITUTE ON HUMAN RELATIONS

On June 3 to 8, 1946, yet another function was held on the Berkeley campus. This one was called the Institute on Human Relations. Carey McWilliams, whose name may be seen throughout the pages of the reports issued by this committee and the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, was a prominent speaker. So was Dalton Trumbo, the Hollywood writer and intimate of John Howard Lawson. He played an active role in the U. C. L. A. affair, and now stands convicted of contempt with the other nine Hollywood writers who refused to tell the committee whether or not they were Communist Party members. Dalton Trumbo turned his writing talents into the political field, as well, having written speeches delivered by state officials at the opening of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco—which affair was arranged under the shrewd direction of yet another person who fooled many gullible figures: Alger Hiss.

Many of the things discussed here have been treated to some extent in the five other reports issued by this committee and its predecessors, but we have deemed it our duty to recapitulate them here.

There has been a growing tendency on the part of educational administrators whose institutions of learning have been badly infected with Communist infiltration over the past several years, to stick their heads quickly into the nearest sand pile whenever the word “Communist” is mentioned within their hearing and to keep their heads snugly buried until the sound and fury has subsided. Unfortunately, it is a fact that these persons have simply refused to take the problem very seriously. They have rather treated Communism as a sort of thing to be endured and tolerated, and have regarded members of the Communist Party as extreme liberals or confused Marxian philosophers rather than



the agents of a foreign conspiracy, which they actually are. It is high time that we regard every Communist Party member for precisely what he is: an individual who has, by the very process of becoming a disciplined Party member, repudiated his fundamental allegiance to his own country and transferred it to the Soviet Union as the leader of the international Communist movement. From the very time that he enters the Communist movement in the United States he is taught to lie, indulge in all manner of hypocritical and immoral practices for the purpose of furthering the Communizing of his own country as a part of the world revolutionary movement. He will turn the most precious secrets of his government over to agents of the Soviet Union without the slightest monetary reward, serving the cause of world Communism. It is completely impossible for any indoctrinated Communist Party member who is also teaching in any educational institution to pursue his academic work without doing the bidding of the Communist Party and turning his efforts to the recruiting of students into the organization. Such is the very nature of the Communist conspiracy, and every basic document that has ever been issued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or by the Comintern eloquently bears out these statements.

### LOYALTY OATH

During the past two years, and especially after our troops were sent to fight in Korea, the American public became so aroused that in cities and counties scattered throughout the State of California ordinances were passed requiring employees of subdivisions of the State Government to take an oath of one kind or another to the effect that the employees were not connected with any organization that advocated the overthrow of the American Government by force, violence, or other unlawful means. It is quite apparent that the fundamental purpose of requiring such an oath was to eliminate from responsible and sensitive positions those individuals who, by virtue of their membership in the Communist Party or their sympathies to the Communist movement as exemplified by a long history of active participation in Communist-front organizations, actually owed their fundamental allegiance to the Soviet Union and world Communism rather than to the government by which they were employed.

The loyalty oath is assuredly a step in the right direction—but such oaths vary. They vary from simple declarations of allegiance to the Government of the United States and the State in which the individual may be at the time of his employment, to sworn statements that the person does not believe in the philosophy of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, the Ku Klux Klan, etc., and that he has never been affiliated with any of the organizations which have been declared to be subversive by the Department of Justice.

It is, of course, one thing to object to swearing allegiance to the Government of the United States and quite another thing to be placed in the suspicious category because one refuses to be cataloged according

to one's political or philosophical beliefs. It is indeed difficult to understand why any American teacher would object to taking an oath that he will be loyal to his own government and that he does not advocate, nor belong to an organization which advocates its overthrow by unlawful means.

It has been contended by some that since it is not yet unlawful in this Country to be a Communist, that Party members should be allowed to teach in our schools, since to deprive them of that privilege would tend to stifle academic freedom. A diminishing minority of professional educators still hold fast to this view, but this small group continues to shrink in the face of indisputable proof of the very critical evil that can be sown by a single fanatic Communist teacher practicing his conspiratorial arts under the noses of naive and uninformed administrators who regard him as a sincere and harmless liberal.

The American educational system would hardly seek to justify a condition where parents have raised their children in clean, decent homes and trustfully send them to school—often at great sacrifice—only to have them alienated from those very homes by a few Communist teachers who have turned them into traitors and taught them to repudiate their God, their parents and their Country. Precisely such things do occur and are occurring in the educational institutions of our State, as will be seen by the actual case histories hereinafter described. Every clear-thinking, fair-minded person will agree that such conditions have been tolerated far too long.

There seems to be little controversy concerning the idea that actual members of the Communist Party should not be permitted to teach in our schools. Among those who have voiced such opinions are General Dwight Eisenhower, recently President of Columbia University, and President James B. Conant of Harvard University. These gentlemen and 18 fellow members of an educational policies commission reached this conclusion two years ago, and their sentiments have been generally approved by educators and educational administrators throughout the Country. So far as the loyalty oath itself is concerned, a great many individuals have publicly declared themselves in favor of it. Among the most prominent of these persons is Judge Harold Medina, who in October of 1950 declared emphatically "I personally can't understand why anyone would refuse to sign it. I'd sign it." Judge Medina had no illusions concerning the discipline that governs every Communist Party member, since he was fresh from the Foley Square trial where he was harassed by a battery of vociferous attorneys representing the 11 members of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States, as a result of which trial the defendants were found guilty of conspiring to advocate, and to teach other Party members to advocate, the overthrow of the American form of government by force and violence. Cody Fowler, President of the American Bar Association, declared in October of last year "I thrill every time I have an opportunity to take an oath of loyalty. It's a privilege, not something to be avoided."

On February 24, 1950, the Regents of the University of California decided that they would require a loyalty oath from all of the employees of the university, and set a deadline for signing such an oath at April 30, 1950. The signing of the oath was to be a condition of employment and those individuals who refused to sign as requested were to be denied employment by the regents.

This decision on the part of the Board of Regents arose from a recommendation made by the comptroller of the university, Mr. James H. Corley, who was also the university's representative to the State Legislature. Having attended many sessions of the Legislature, he was naturally quite familiar with the attitude of that body toward Communism on the campus of the state university and he was convinced, having discussed the matter thoroughly in Sacramento, that unless the university took some positive step to clean its own house that the Legislature would certainly act to that end. Therefore he recommended to the president of the university, Dr. Sproul, and to the Board of Regents, that a loyalty oath be required.

The Committee on Un-American Activities adopted a hands-off policy during the entire oath controversy, in the belief that since it was strictly a university matter it could best be handled by the regents and the university administration. The practical benefit that results from the type of non-Communist statement ultimately adopted by the regents as a compromise measure has been a subject of great controversy. In the opinion of this committee, which, with its predecessor committees, has studied the Communist problem in California continuously for the past 12 years, it was certainly a step in the right direction.

It has been contended by many that secret members of the Communist Party will sign a non-Communist statement if only for the purpose of diverting suspicion. In many cases that is undoubtedly true. It is also true, however, that such a compulsory statement is a powerful deterrent to recruiting. It places the entire personnel of the university squarely on record against the hiring or retention of Communists, and the committee fails to discern anything very bad in that.

As the controversy concerning the oath became more tense on the various campuses of the university, a group of professors, headed by George R. Stewart, compiled a book which they called *The Year of the Oath*, and which was published by Doubleday & Co., Garden City, New York, 1950. This 156-page book deals primarily with the controversy between the regents and the academic senate of the University of California over the loyalty oath. Academic freedom is defined on page 14 of the book as "the freedom, within an educational institution, to teach and to be taught the truth." And on page 16, tenure, or academic tenure, is defined as "the right of a teacher, after he has amply demonstrated his competence and character, to hold his job unless proved unfit." In Chapter 3, titled *The Issues* it is stated that the entire controversy "arose from the imposition by the regents of a special oath. In addition to the traditional oath included in the Constitution of the State of California

and gladly taken already, the university employees were suddenly required to swear to a codicil, which in its revised form read: 'that I am not a member of the Communist Party, or under any oath, or a party to any agreement, or under any commitment that is in conflict with my obligations under this oath.' "

On page 21 it is stated that no member of the academic senate refused to sign because he was a Communist—Communist Party members would, of course, sign to divert suspicion. It was further stated that no one brought forth any evidence to show that any member of the academic senate was in fact a Communist.

The book sets forth a great many individual objections that were made to the oath in its original form. Many members of the faculty and other employees of the university objected because of the ambiguity of the original oath—an objection that was removed by the following June. Some argued that since the Communist Party was a legal entity in California the oath was in the nature of a political test that should not be tried out on the faculty. Others objected to the principle of guilt by association—the blanket condemnation of *all* Communists. Many were indignant because the original oath leveled the finger of suspicion at them as a particularly suspect group. Some argued that this was not a practical way to rid the university of Communists, and would bring far more harm than good to the institution. Many suspected some ulterior political motive on the part of those regents who were especially insistent, and that the sign-or-leave ultimatum was a serious threat to academic tenure.

In Chapter IV of the book there is presented a valuable chronology of events in connection with the imposition of the oath, and for the purpose of enabling the reader to intelligently follow the sequence of events, excerpts have been made from that chronology:

January, 1949: Comptroller James H. Corley recommended the Anti-Communist oath to prevent legislation in that direction;

March 25, 1949: President Sproul presented the oath proposal, together with a draft, which the Board of Regents unanimously adopted;

May, 1949: The faculty bulletin stated that the 1949-50 acceptance letters would contain the oath, and it would have to be signed before salary checks would be released through the university;

June 7, 1949: The northern section of the academic senate put the subject of the oath on its agenda for the next regular meeting;

June 11, 1949: The text of the oath was released to the press by President Sproul's office; it had added: "I do not believe in and am not a member of, nor do I support any party or organization that believes in, advocates or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence";

June 14, 1949: A special meeting of the northern section of the academic senate appointed a special committee to consult with the Board of Regents with regard to a rewording of the oath and working out a mutually acceptable compromise;



June 18, 1949: The special committee of the academic senate conferred with President Sproul, and suggested (1) a statement of general anti-Communist policy; or, (2) "that I am not under oath, nor a party to any agreement, nor as a member of any party or organization am I under any commitment that is in conflict with my obligations under this oath";

June 20, 1949: The academic senate, southern section, adopted the same resolutions as had already been adopted by the northern section of the academic senate concerning the loyalty oath;

June 21, 1949: The advisory committee for the southern section of the academic senate informed President Sproul that it completely concurred with the advisory committee for the northern section of the senate;

June 24, 1949: The Board of Regents reaffirmed the 1940 anti-Communist policy of the university and required the constitutional oath, whereupon the advisory committee of the academic senate suggested the following additions to the oath and issued the new wording of the statement as follows: "I am not a member of the Communist Party, or under any oath, or a party to any agreement, or under any commitment that is in conflict with my obligation under this oath—" this being a sort of compromise between the regents and the advisory committee of the academic senate;

June 27, 1949: The members of the academic senate who refused to sign the statement as proposed by the regents held a meeting at the Faculty Club on the campus of the university at Berkeley and decided that the new oath requirement as proposed by the Board of Regents was no improvement whatever, and laid the blame on their own advisory committee for having capitulated so much;

June 28, 1949: The advisory committee chairman discussed the ideas of the members of the academic senate who refused to sign the oath with President Sproul in his office on the Berkeley campus;

June 30, 1949: An unofficial statement was issued by the university officials that despite the ultimatum by the Board of Regents that salary checks would *not* be held up pending a final settlement of the controversy;

July 6, 1949: The members of the faculty of the university who were not members of the academic senate nevertheless voted to support the position that the academic senate had adopted;

July 8, 1949: The nonsigning members of the academic senate in Los Angeles held a meeting and immediately lines of disagreement developed between the signers and the nonsigners in all of the faculty groups;

July 15, 1949: President Sproul sent individual letters to members of the faculty, presented therewith a copy of the oath as it then existed, and expressed the personal hope that the letters would be signed and returned before October 1st, and this letter from Dr. Sproul setting October 1, 1949, as the new deadline, was thereafter referred to by members of the academic senate as "the soft deadline" because of the conciliatory and persuasive tone of Sproul's letter. Many faculty members



signed during their vacation period, assuming that the signing of the oath was deemed satisfactory to the academic senate advisory committee;

Late July, 1949: Contracts for 1949-50 were sent out to the various individuals who were to be employed by the university, and the sending out of these contracts was considered by the academic senate a breach of faith for the reason that the June 30th statement that checks would not be held up was, by this issuance of contracts, being violated. There was a great deal of indignation on the part of the academic senate over the whole matter;

September 19, 1959: 650 voting members of the northern section of the academic senate met and President Sproul declared that the regents' resolution of June 24th was aimed only at the Communist Party and "that no non-Communist faculty member who regards the regents' policy as unwise will be deemed to have severed his relations with the university." President Sproul also said that slightly over half of the academic personnel on the northern campuses had already signed, but he failed to distinguish between members of the academic senate and nonmembers of that highest group of faculty employees. Regulation No. 5, being the non-Communist policy of the university, was read and the academic senate passed two resolutions. One of them interpreted Regulation 5 as prohibiting the employment of Communists by the university and they completely concurred with that position. The other requested permission to take only the constitutional oath that had already been taken by the employees of the university;

September 22, 1949: The academic senate, southern section, passed resolutions comparable to the ones described above;

September 23, 1949: The Board of Regents appointed a committee to confer with the advisory committee for the academic senate;

September 29, 1949: A conference was held between the Board of Regents and the various committees representing the academic senate in the City of San Francisco;

September 30, 1949: The Board of Regents Committee refused to compromise with the academic senate, and decided to release the letters of contract and accept an informal affirmation instead of a formal, non-Communist oath. The regents expressed a willingness to negotiate further, but insisted that "an equivalent" to the oath be signed. By October 1, the new deadline being so near, many more members of the academic senate signed the latest statement required by the Board of Regents;

October 7 and 25, November 14, 1949: On these dates the academic senate met, both in northern and southern California, and the meetings were characterized by involved discussions and refined arguments. On motion of the advisory committees, the academic senate voted that it was in complete agreement upon the objectives of the university policy and a conference committee was appointed to negotiate further with the Board of Regents with instructions not to commit the academic senate to approval of what the special oath stood for, i. e., political test and guilt by association;

November 30, 1949: The nonsigners of the oath on the Berkeley campus formed a permanent, informal organization of their own;

December 13, 1949: The chairman of the academic senate conference committee met with John Francis Neylan, chairman of the Regents Committee, but, as he put it, he only sat and listened and was not allowed to participate to any practical degree in the discussion;

December 16, 1949: The Board of Regents discharged Irving David Fox from the faculty of the University of California, upon his admission that he had been a member of the Communist Party of the United States;

January 4, 1950. The academic senate conference committee met with the special committee of the Board of Regents, but reported no progress;

January 12, 1950: The regents committee met and apparently were divided evenly on whether to accept the conference committee's proposals, that is the proposals made by the nonsigning members of the academic senate;

January 13, 1950: The special committee of the Board of Regents was discharged with thanks, and the academic senate's conference committee was told to address all future communications to the president of the university;

February, 1950: The academic senate's conference committee, through President Sproul, suggested that the annual contract set forth the general non-Communist policy of the university and that faculty members should accept their employment subject to such policy, thus eliminating any personal, individual approval of that policy;

February 24, 1950: The Board of Regents set April 30, 1950, as a deadline after which all persons who had refused to sign the oath would be discharged from the employ of the university. The vote was 12 to 6;

February 25, 1950: In the belief that the nature of the entire loyalty oath controversy had become shifted from one of ideology to one of academic freedom, the academic senate prepared for a publicity and legal campaign to fight the necessity of taking the non-Communist oath or signing the special non-Communist statement;

February 27, 1950: A meeting of 150 nonsigners of the oath, members of the academic senate, was held in Berkeley;

February 28, 1950: A faculty defense fund was inaugurated for the purpose of financing a legal battle against signing either the oath or an individual statement as proposed by the Board of Regents;

March 6, 1950: A mass meeting of students was held at the Berkeley campus to hear all of the issues debated, but John Francis Neylan, of the Board of Regents, sent word that he had a bad cold and was unable to appear and participate in the discussions;

March 7, 1950: The northern section of the academic senate relieved its conference committee and voted to reject the special oath; it also voted to take a secret ballot on whether to accept the regents' anti-Communist policy in addition to taking the regular constitutional oath, and whether or not proved members of the Communist Party, by reason of their commitments to the Party, were not acceptable as members of

the faculty, and a committee of seven was appointed to further explore these subjects;

March 8, 1950: The committee of seven took over all of the duties of the northern and southern sections of the senate and prepared to carry on the battle against the loyalty oath or signing the special statement required by the Board of Regents;

March 3-31, 1950: Telegrams, letters and financial contributions were received by the committee of seven, but the conservative members of the academic senate urged a heavy vote for the purpose of conciliating the John Francis Neylan faction of the Board of Regents and arrive at some mutually agreeable solution of the controversy;

March 22, 1950: The members of the academic senate in both the northern and southern sections voted to accept the regents' anti-Communist policy in addition to taking the regular constitutional oath against Communism and also voted that proved members of the Communist Party were not acceptable as members of the University of California faculty. The first of these propositions carried by a vote of 1,154 to 136, and the second carried by a vote of 1,025 to 268. This immediately elicited from Mr. Neylan a statement of congratulations on the University of California faculty being the first in the United States to take this positive stand against Communism.

March 31, 1950: After a stormy 4½-hour meeting of the Board of Regents there was a 10 to 10 split on the proposed compromise, which was known in faculty circles as the "great Santa Barbara Doublecross."

April 1, 1950: It was observed by members of the academic senate that the faculty was splitting into two cliques—one favoring a compliance with the mandate of the Board of Regents as it then existed, and the other being opposed to any such action;

April 4, 1950: Work was commenced on the *Year of the Oath*;

April 18, 1950: Press releases appeared to the effect that 245 academic senate members and other employees of Stanford University had signed a letter supporting the stand of the nonsigning element of the academic senate at the University of California and sent funds for the purpose of assisting in a legal battle against the requirement of the Board of Regents;

April 20, 1950: The University of Chicago faculty voted 2 percent of its salary as a defense fund and sent the money to the nonsigning element of the academic senate at the University of California;

April 21, 1950: The Board of Regents voted 21 to 1 to rescind the oath requirement, but transferred its essential provisions to the body of the new employment contracts as a condition of employment. Mr. Louis M. Gianinni was the individual who cast the lone dissenting vote and he gave as his reason his unwillingness to ever compromise with Communism. This meeting of the Board of Regents actually accepted the compromise which was suggested by the academic senate, and for the first time the requirement for a special non-Communist oath was officially

abandoned, although its essence was retained in the employment contracts.

It is very important to understand that the regents' acceptance of the compromise at its meeting on April 21, 1950, left two alternatives to the academic senate members. They could either sign the new contracts of employment or, refusing to so sign, apply nevertheless for a hearing before the faculty Committee on Privilege and Tenure, with a subsequent review by President Sproul and the Board of Regents.

May, 1950: Hearings of nonsigners were commenced before the Committee on Privilege and Tenure both in the north and in the south—the academic senate assuming that “only Communists or extreme recalcitrants would be dismissed by the Board of Regents.”

May 26, 1950: A meeting of the Board of Regents was held and Mr. Neylan denounced the nonsigners who then numbered 412, of which 94 were members of the academic senate;

June 23, 1950: President Sproul reported that 62 members of the academic senate had been accorded hearings before the Committee on Privilege and Tenure and that 157 employees were no longer in the employ of the university. All of the names were kept confidential, but none of the 157 were members of the academic senate, most of them being administrative employees;

June 25, 1950: Korean War had commenced, and many nonsigners complied with the Board of Regents requirements and many others resigned voluntarily from the employ of the university;

July 22, 1950: Twenty members of the Board of Regents met with members of the Committee on Privilege and Tenure, with faculty members, representatives of the press and miscellaneous interested persons. The 39 nonsigners, academic senate members, all of whom had been recommended nevertheless for re-employment by the Committee on Privilege and Tenure, were discussed. President Sproul had also recommended that they all be rehired. Mr. Neylan lead the move to oust all 39. Regents Fenston, Haggerty, Hanson and Warren argued to retain them. The vote was 10 to 9 for their retention in support of the Committee on Privilege and Tenure and President Sproul. Mr. Neylan then switched his vote and stated that he would move for reconsideration of the decision at the August meeting of the board. The balance of the recommendations of President Sproul were approved, and resulted in the outright dismissal of six members of the academic senate and other employees of the university.

At the August meeting of the Board of Regents they voted to discharge all 39 members of the academic senate who had refused to sign. This action really ended the matter—except that the ousted employees of the university filed a law suit for reinstatement that is still pending.

As a result of this entire controversy, the University of California suffered considerably in its academic reputation, and as anyone can see by reading the foregoing chronology of events, the entire controversy was one of compromise and conciliation, of wrangling and petty disputes, of cliques and counter-cliques from its inception to its conclusion.



It should be added, that on October 14, 1950, Attorney General Howser ruled that all employees of the University of California would have to comply with the law passed at the special session of the California State Legislature that required all employees of the State of California to sign the oath prescribed by the Legislature. On January 14, 1951, the Comptroller of the University of California at Berkeley stated that all professors at the university had signed the state oath, that 21,607 signatures had been received, but that there were still some individuals who had refused to sign, most of them being administrative employees and nonmembers of the academic senate.

### **The Year of the Oath**

In the belief that an analysis of this book, *The Year of the Oath*, will show in a more forcible and impressive manner than through any other way the committee can conceive, the naive academic attitude toward Communism in general, there follows a commentary on the volume. At the outset it should be made clear, that in spite of the fact that the book was a joint effort of members of the faculty of the University of California, it is not entirely free from error. Thus, on page 51, we find the following statement:

“During the 1940’s instances began to multiply of drives against education in general and against the University of California in particular. The usual ingredients seem to be strong affirmations of patriotism, with undertones of political and economic interest. In this year Assemblyman Jack Tenney announced that the legislature would be requested to grant authority to investigate alleged Communistic influences in the university, and for other purposes. In January, 1941, Assemblymen Tenney, Phillips (an organizer of the associated farmers), and Bayshore asked the legislature for a joint committee to investigate, among other matters, the activities of persons and groups suspected of being foreign-dominated at schools and colleges in California.”

The Phillips referred to on page 51 of the book is not an organizer of the Associated Farmers, and was never connected with that organization. The Phillips referred to, James H. Phillips, from Oakland, California, was then a member of the State Assembly who, like the other members of that body, deemed that it was high time the Legislature took some steps to investigate the question of Communism in the state university and elsewhere. Mr. Phillips is now a representative of the California State Employees’ Association.

Chapter V of the book is called *The T. A. and the Piano Player*. It is in the nature of an apology for Irving David Fox, Miriam Brooks Sherman and her sister, Eleanor Pasternak.

The writer of this chapter pulls out all of the stops on his literary instrument to paint these undisputed Communist Party members as gentle, harmless little people. This is how he describes Fox:

“Mr. Fox is a man of thirty, looking slightly younger. He is a little above medium height, with auburn hair, brown eyes, and the fine clear complexion that usually goes with such coloring. He



is definitely a handsome fellow, with quiet voice and good manners. He is married, has one child, and is now looking, under considerable handicaps, for a job."

From this description of Mr. Fox's age, height, hair, eyes, complexion, handsome appearance, quiet voice and good manners, together with his marital status and progeny, one would assume the writer's intent to imply that such a chap could not possibly be connected with a vicious international conspiracy; a fanatic Communist dedicated to the subversion of his own country.

Let us, therefore, examine some facts concerning this handsome and mild-mannered man that are not mentioned in Chapter V.

Mr. Fox was first called to the attention of this committee in connection with its investigation of an organization that was functioning in Alameda County, California, from 1939 at least through the year 1946. This organization, the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians was actually conceived in the Soviet Union as a medium for espionage activities on the part of the Communist Party of the United States.

Irving David Fox was a member of the executive committee of Chapter 25 of this organization during the year 1943. In order that the highly important nature of his position may be made perfectly clear at this time, it is well to recapitulate here some of the factual data that was presented for the first time in the committee's 1947 report to the Legislature, which is now out of print. Marcel Scherer, the founder of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians received a part of his basic training in the Soviet Union. He was an industrial chemist of considerable ability, as well as a Communist Party member, and while he was abroad attending an espionage school at Moscow, his wife, whose maiden name was Lena Chernenko, was functioning as organizer for the Communist Party of New Jersey under her Party name, which was Lena Davis.

Having received his instructions in espionage work while in the Soviet Union, Mr. Scherer returned to the United States and launched an organization of scientists which he called the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians. In 1939, Chapter 25 of this organization was established at Berkeley, California, and its personnel continued to grow and its activities continued to spread until, by 1943, when atomic research was commenced at the radiation laboratory on the Berkeley campus of the University of California, the physicists and nuclear fission experts from this organization were infiltrated throughout the project. In the meanwhile others were employed in critical work at the Shell Development Company's Emeryville plant and elsewhere in sensitive positions in Alameda County. After having traced the origin of this organization, the committee decided that it was highly significant in playing an espionage role in connection with the war effort, and managed to secure an informant in Chapter 25, from whom the committee learned, among other things, that the Communist personnel in the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and

Technicians were primarily interested in evading detection by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and insinuating its members throughout the atomic bomb project. The committee obtained copies of the minutes of the executive committee meetings of Chapter 25 during 1943, which were attended by Irving David Fox, and some of them read as follows:

"On April 7 \* \* \* Ray Dunn stated that it would be necessary to obtain a complete personnel list of employees with the radiation lab, and that this could best be obtained from the personnel office. Dr. Nelson raised an objection to this procedure stating that the filing of such a list would probably come to the attention of the F. B. I., which would cause trouble for the F. A. E. C. T.

"Ed Finkelstein stated that many people he contacted objected to joining the union because they felt it was Communist controlled, and favored cooperation after the war by setting up a Communist government in the United States. In answer to this Ray Dunn stated that he understood this attitude, as he felt the same way—stated that the Communist party *should* set up its own government in this country."

"On April 14, 1943 \* \* \* the minutes of April 2d were read and approved.

"Regarding membership, Bernard Peters stated that it is absolutely necessary to get a good foothold on the 'hill' before the F. A. E. C. T. could consider itself thoroughly entrenched.

"Bernard Peters suggested that the committee pass on all material to forestall any possible leakage of information.

"Shirlee Davis asked David Fox if it would be all right if outsiders came to the big meeting, and he answered that it wouldn't be wise because it might give the F. B. I. and the university an opportunity to accuse the union of carelessness in letting out information by asking outsiders, as they might get to know the people working on the hill."

"On May 5, 1943 \* \* \* Noel Bartlett stated that he would ask the mail girl in his department on the 'hill' to distribute leaflets or notifications of F. A. E. C. T. as if they were checks.

"David Fox suggested that these leaflets be put in envelopes to make them less liable to detection."

Marcel Scherer's authority to place scientists on the "hill" is shown by the informant's comment concerning a meeting attended by Scherer which, for reasons unimportant here, will not be more positively identified as to time:

"Scherer stated that many F. A. E. C. T. members had applied and been accepted for jobs in the lab and on the 'hill,' and for union members to encourage all F. A. E. C. T. members they knew to apply for jobs at the lab. Incidentally, all personnel is directed through Scherer. He has an office on the campus and interviews people all the time. He is in extremely close contact with 'X' all the time, and it is not far-fetched to say that just about all applicants are members of the F. A. E. C. T. or have to become members before or after they are accepted as employees for the lab. Scherer told the

girl that he would guarantee her a job if she would join the union—a job at the lab.”

In August, 1943, Fox subscribed to the Communist paper, the *Daily People's World*, at 2526 Ellsworth Street, in Berkeley; in 1943, as has been said, he was chairman of the executive committee of Chapter 25 of an organization of scientists that had its inception in an espionage school in the Soviet Union, and was regularly presiding at meetings of that executive committee; this type of activity was not particularly new for Mr. Fox, since he had been active in the American Students' Union when he was attending Los Angeles City College in 1937, and as a matter of fact was placed on probation by that institution on April 1, 1938, for distributing radical literature.

In connection with information developed by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, a report was issued by that body on September 29, 1949, in connection with atomic espionage at the University of California. Quoting from pages 5 and 6 of the report mentioned, we find that Fox was playing an important role as follows:

“During the course of the committee's investigation of the scientist X case, certain information contained in reports made by intelligence agents was obtained by the committee. An abstract from one of these reports reads as follows:

‘A very reliable and highly confidential informant advised that certain instructions had been given by Steve Nelson, who was at the time a member of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States, to the scientist identified herein as Joseph W. Weinberg, a research physicist connected with the atomic bomb project at the University of California at Berkeley, Calif. The instructions were that Weinberg should furnish Nelson with information concerning the atomic bomb project so that Nelson could, in turn, deliver it to the proper officials of the Soviet government. Nelson advised Weinberg to furnish him any information which he might obtain from trustworthy communists working on the atomic project; he, Nelson, being of the belief that collectively the Communist scientists working on the project could assemble all the information regarding the manufacture of the atomic bomb. Nelson told Weinberg that all Communists engaged on the atomic bomb project should destroy their Communist Party membership books, refrain from using liquor, and use every precaution regarding their espionage activities.’

“At the time of this meeting, according to an extract from an intelligence report, Weinberg furnished Nelson with information regarding the experiments which had been conducted in connection with the development of the atomic bomb at the radiation laboratories of the University of California. The information furnished Nelson by Weinberg was taken down in the form of notes by Nelson.

“An extract from a report filed with the committee states that Weinberg, while employed on the atomic bomb project, had as his closest associates Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, David Joseph Bohm, Max Bernard Friedman, and *Irving David Fox*, all of whom have refused to answer questions propounded by the committee regarding

Communist Party activities and associations on the ground of self-incrimination.

"Regarding the identity of the scientist as the person who furnished information concerning the atomic bomb to Steve Nelson in March of 1943, the following is an extract from testimony given to the committee during the month of August, 1949, by James Sterling Murray, presently assistant to the president of the Lindsay Light and Chemical Co., West Chicago, Illinois, and formerly officer in charge of security and intelligence in the San Francisco, California, area of the Manhattan Engineering District, which was the division of the United States Army charged with the development and production of the atomic bomb:

"Mr. Murray: A highly confidential informant informed our office that an unidentified scientist at the radiation laboratory had disclosed certain secret information about the Manhattan Engineering Project to a member of the Communist Party in San Francisco, and this confidential informant went on to say that such information was transmitted to this Russian Consulate in San Francisco and later was on its way to Washington, D. C., and later out of the country in a diplomatic pouch. This was the only allegation we had to begin with, but through information which the confidential informant was able to supply us on the background of the particular scientist, we finally narrowed it down and definitely fixed the scientist as Weinberg."

"In addition to the identification mentioned above, it should be pointed out that a number of persons who were engaged in the investigation have been interrogated by the committee and/or its staff, and the identification made by witness Murray has been concurred in by these other persons.

"Upon two occasions, Joseph W. Weinberg, in appearances before the committee, specifically denied having furnished any information regarding the atomic bomb to Steve Nelson. This is in direct contradiction to the testimony of James Sterling Murray and other witnesses who have appeared before the committee.

"The committee, during its investigation, devoted a great deal of time toward establishing the true facts regarding a meeting which was held at the home of Joseph Weinberg in Berkeley, California, in August, 1943. According to information furnished by witnesses before the committee, this meeting was attended by Bernadette Doyle, who was secretary to Steve Nelson during the period he was the Communist Party organizer for Alameda County, California; Steve Nelson; Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz; *Irving David Fox*; David Bohm; Ken Max Manfred, formerly known as Max Bernard Friedman. As will be shown, Joseph Weinberg was present in his apartment at Berkeley, California at the time the meeting was held. All of the persons mentioned as attendant at this meeting were employed by the radiation laboratory at the University of California at Berkeley, with the exception of Bernadette Doyle and Steve Nelson. All of these persons were reported, during the course of the committee's investigation, as being members of the Communist Party.

"All of the persons mentioned as having attended the meeting in the home of Joseph Weinberg on August, 1943, were subpoenaed



as witnesses before the committee, with the exception of Bernadette Doyle. Witnesses Lomanitz, Nelson, *Fox*, Bohm, and Manfred declined to answer questions regarding this meeting on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate them."

Bear in mind that when this alleged meeting occurred in August 1943, Fox was the chairman of the executive committee of Chapter 25 of this organization of scientists, which had its inception in an espionage school in Russia, and was actually running the organization. It was Fox who, in 1943, made the decision that the meeting of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, Chapter 25, should not be open to the public because it would invite detection from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the university, and it was Fox who suggested that the organization's leaflets should be put in envelopes to make them less liable to detection when they were circulated among the employees of the atomic bomb research project in the radiation laboratory on the Berkeley campus of the university. Here, then, was no minor rank-and-file member of the Communist Party. Here, on the other hand, was the boss of Chapter 25 of a scientific espionage medium being operated by the Communist Party for its own purposes under instructions from the Soviet Union itself.

The attitude of the writers of the book *The Year of the Oath*, toward Irving David Fox, is an excellent example of the naivete which is common among educators toward problems of this character.

After the regents of the university had called Fox before them in 1950 and secured from him an admission that he had been a member of the Communist Party, the writers of this book went to great lengths to describe his manners and his personal appearance. This highlights the entire attitude toward loyalty oaths and Communists on college campuses, and shows the real essence of the entire controversy, to wit: *a lack of accurate information about Communism*. Simply because a person is a member of the board of regents, the president of a university, member of an academic senate, a janitor, a truck driver, a writer, an artist, or a housewife, does not necessarily mean that person cannot also be an active member of the Communist Party and engaged in espionage.

Dr. Klaus Fuchs was also a mild, good-mannered man. So gentle, so well-mannered that he was perfectly suited to fit his role as the master spy who admittedly gave our most critical atomic secrets to the Soviet Union.

The university professors and scientists in Canada were also nice-appearing persons with families and good complexions. They were, in addition, traitors so fanatically dedicated to the Communist world revolution that they are now in Canadian prisons, having been convicted of espionage against their own country.

How do the authors of this book think a Communist or spy should look?

Alger Hiss, being even better looking than Mr. Fox, would be utterly above suspicion, if we adopt this absurd criterion. What about



Elizabeth Bentley—a confessed Soviet spy who later turned over valuable information to the F. B. I.—she was much better looking even than Hiss.

Now let us examine some facts about the “piano player,” Mrs. Miriam Brooks Sherman. She is depicted in Chapter 5 as a somewhat pitiful woman, whose only offense was playing the piano at the rhythms classes at U. C. L. A., and having a sister, Eleanor Pasternak, also employed at the same institution at the same time. Mrs. Sherman was fired because a university regulation forbids employment of relatives of employees. In lightly and humorously tossing aside the Sherman case, the writers of Chapter 5 seek to belittle the entire affair. They conclude their comment thus:

“Unlike the Fox case, the Sherman case creates no precedent and probably leaves behind it no problem. Whether knowingly or not, Mrs. Sherman was violating an established university regulation and was therefore subject to dismissal. There is, of course, something comically pusillanimous in this sudden bundling her off the campus in the middle of a class, while all the girls on the gymnasium floor, we are left to imagine, stood poised on one toe, waiting for the concluding chords that never came.

“Mrs. Sherman’s position at the university was even more suburban than that of Mr. Fox. His position was academic and might be called quasi-faculty. But Mrs. Sherman was not even on the edge of the faculty; she was hardly within shooting distance. The position of the faculty as to the existence of Communists in their ranks therefore remains wholly unimpeached.

“As some disillusioned wit among us has remarked: ‘The special oath seems to be an ineffective means of getting rid of Communists—who aren’t there to begin with!’”

Not there? Here are three, at least. Do the members of the academic senate believe that because Fox, the admitted Communist, was only a teaching assistant that he was not dangerous to keep in the atomic bomb research laboratory? Do they believe that a Communist who plays the piano and has a sister is not apt to be dangerous? Do Communists at the university have to be ugly, unmarried, and members of the academic senate to be dangerous? Of course, such a conception is utterly absurd.

The access to students and to critical research projects are the reasons for Communists to seek employment in universities. All Communists are subject to strict Party discipline; they do as they are told.

A Communist janitor, guard, typist, switchboard operator—these persons are often more dangerous than English professors who are members of the academic senate. It is a well-known fact that in Soviet embassies and consulates a gardener or chauffeur is usually the real boss and issues orders to the ambassador or the consul. And a teaching assistant or piano player or a minor figure on a university publication can, and ordinarily would, issue Party directives to such Communists who might be members of the academic senate.

Let us now examine facts about Mrs. Miriam Brooks Sherman that apparently were not available to the erudite authors of the book under examination.

In the first place, it was Senator Tenney, who for many years was chairman of the California legislature's Committee on Un-American Activities, who first directed the attention of the University of California to the fact that it was employing, in the person of Miriam Brooks Sherman, a Communist on the U. C. L. A. campus. Of course, she was not discharged simply because she was a Communist, but because she had a sister who was also engaged by the university at the same time.

It should also be noted that Chapter V of this book, while containing covert sympathy for Fox, Mrs. Sherman and her sister, had hisses for Senator Tenney and regent Neylan. The latter is highlighted as the man who brought Fox to the attention of the regents, who questioned Fox, and who cut him short when he testified at the regents meeting on December 16, 1949.

Senator Tenney is said to have seized upon the heat of the oath controversy as the most opportune time to announce that he had information about a Communist being employed at U. C. L. A., and that the press later "identified Senator Tenney's 'Communist' as Mrs. Sherman."

Since the regents had declared their anti-Communist policy in 1940, and since the academic senate had approved that policy, and since Neylan discovered an admitted Communist in the employ of the university, it would appear that he simply did his duty as a regent in a very characteristically forthright manner in bringing Mr. Fox before the board and having him fired.

Senator Tenney, who for eight years had acquainted himself with the techniques of Communist infiltration, naturally was scrutinizing the personnel at U. C. L. A. more closely because of the furor over the loyalty oath. His disclosure resulted in the discharge of a registered Communist—and the writers of Chapter V could have left out the sarcastic quotation marks they employed in referring to "Senator Tenney's 'Communist'," because Mrs. Sherman was most assuredly a Communist of considerable importance—as well as a piano player. Let us now proceed to examine that portion of her record which was not printed in this book. On page 164 of the 1943 report issued by this committee, there is an excerpt from an affidavit by a former member of the cultural commission of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, which certainly should be quoted here:

"\* \* \* I was drawn into the Los Angeles County Cultural Commission as a representative from the political commission; that this commission was organized to fill the need expressed by Mary Virginia Farmer, mentioned previously: To coordinate the work of the Los Angeles County apparatus of the Communist Party with that of the underground, darkly secret Hollywood cultural commission, which in turn was part of the Communist Party apparatus in Hollywood, which, according to Communist knowledge generally, dealt directly with the Central Committee of the Communist Party

of the United States rather than with the local apparatus; therefore, this form of coordination was highly necessary from an organizational point of view; that members of said Los Angeles County Cultural Commission beside myself were: *Miriam Brooks*, now wife of Jack Moore, 1941 Los Angeles County secretary of the Communist Party; she was then a member of the Musicians' Union, A. F. of L., and worked on the WPA music project in Los Angeles; meetings were held in her home on North Coronado; Leona McGenty, aforementioned, who represented the Communist Party faction on the Federal Theatre Project; Howland Chamberlain, member of Actors' Equity; Darby Jones, member of Screen Actors' Guild; Barney Brown, in charge of Communist Party theatrical work, also co-representative with me from the political commission; Charles Maddox, member of the Artists' Congress and a worker on the WPA Federal Art Project; Roth Reynolds, Artists' Congress, unemployed, who has since become chairman of the Downtown 'Forum' in Los Angeles; Kenneth Patterson, actor; Dr. Leo Selfrid, aforementioned; Sid Davidson (Martin), member of the Los Angeles County Educational Commission; Marvin Carter, member of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; Sonora Babb (who also used another name), member of the League of American Writers; several others whose names I do not know; that the tasks of this Commission were to devise means of coordinating Communist Party work in the 'arts'; to assist with theatrical entertainment containing Communist Party propaganda for labor unions, for meetings of various mass organizations and for political rallies; that this commission organized by the Arts Unions Council, supposed to act as a coordinating body for various WPA unions; in other words, it was a Communist prop to bolster the failing Cultural and Professional Projects Association which had now reached its goal and was part of the Workers' Alliance; since Project workers on the cultural projects rejected this union, the Communist Party devised the Arts Unions Council, supposedly a delegated body, and took in delegates, which in most cases were the Communist Party fraction members from the Los Angeles County Newspaper Guild, a federal writers' project unit; the A. F. of L. Musicians' Union of which a number of members were on the music projects; Actors' Equity, of which a number of members were on the Federal Theatre project; the Artists' Congress, of which members were on the Federal Art Project, and, of course, the Workers' Alliance; said Arts Unions Council later became the nucleus of a nation-wide organization to 'save the Federal Theatre Project' after exposures of Communist Party manipulation of said project made it necessary for Congress to abolish it; that this said cultural commission also coordinated work of the League of American Writers, both in Hollywood and among freelance writers throughout Los Angeles; I do not know if any non-Communists belong to this organization, I never knew a member of it who was not active in Communist Party work; that there was considerable time spent in said cultural commission plotting a method whereby the Communist Party fraction within the Musicians' Union in Los Angeles, of which said *Miriam Brooks* was a member, could gain control of that organization."

A photostatic copy of the certificate of registration from the Los Angeles County Registrar of Voters' office, bearing No. 815570, dated September 24, 1936, shows that *Miriam Brooks Moore Sherman* was then registered as a Communist. Certificate No. B34, dated May 25, 1938, showed that she was registered a Communist at that time in the County of Los Angeles, and she again registered as a Communist on June 12, 1940, as disclosed by Certificate No. B-583993 in said office of the Registrar of Voters in Los Angeles County. The *Daily People's World*, of March 15, 1946, described her as chairman of the Communist Party for the Thirteenth Congressional District of California, and she was so described in articles in the *Daily People's World* on March 21, 1946, and April 26, 1946. In 1944 she was elected as an alternate to the State Committee of the Communist Political Association of California—so *Mrs. Miriam Brooks Moore Sherman* was, indeed, much more than simply a piano player at U. C. L. A.

For a considerable period of time, however, she was also the wife of Jack Moore who testified before the California Legislature's Committee on Un-American Activities in Los Angeles on July 28, 1941. Mr. Moore was such an important figure in the Communist Party of California that the simple fact that he was the husband of Miriam Brooks Moore and that she was, of course, familiar with his general activities, is of great significance. Moore testified, among other things, that he had joined the Young Communist League in 1934, and that it was then affiliated with the Young Communist International with headquarters in Moscow, Russia. He had also been an organizer for the relief workers protective union in Long Beach during the preceding year, which he described as a Communist-dominated organization in which there was a strong nucleus of Party members who held separate meetings in order to plot strategy through which the organization could be controlled. When he testified before the committee in Los Angeles, he stated that he spoke and testified as the duly elected, qualified and acting secretary of the Communist Party for the entire county of Los Angeles. He had also been organizational secretary for the Young Communist League in the entire County of Los Angeles, and had jurisdiction over all of its membership which ranged from 16-year-old high school students to 35-year-old members of the Communist Party. He said that he regarded the Young Communist League as a training school for Communism. He testified that the headquarters of the Y. C. L. was in Room 600 at 124 West Sixth Street in Los Angeles, and that the headquarters for the county office of the Communist Party was in Room 605 at the same address. Moore had lectured at schools which were given for full-time Party employees and workers and which were held in members' homes from time to time throughout the City of Los Angeles. He went on to describe the organizational set-up of the Communist Party of the United States and of the State of California. He testified concerning the indoctrination of students and the youth, the penetration of the cultural field through the motion picture industry and through the organizations



of musicians, artists, writers and motion picture producers. Mr. Moore lectured at length about the relationship between unions and the Communist Party of the United States, and on the whole proved to be the most intelligent, well-informed and willing (considering the fact that he was at that time the top official of the Communist Party in Los Angeles county), of any of the witnesses who have ever appeared before the various California Committees on Un-American Activities during the 12 years of their existence.

If the writers of this book, *The Year of the Oath*, desire additional information concerning Communist Party members at the University of California, they have only to read the reports of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities and the reports of the California Legislature's Committees on Un-American Activities in order to determine whether or not the documented facts will prove the case. Those members of the executive committee of Chapter 25 of the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians who spoke about defying and evading the F. B. I. and propagandizing the atomic bomb project employees with propaganda and longing for a Soviet United States of America, would hardly be described as mild liberals or parlor pinks.

A careful reading of this book fails to disclose anything throughout its entire 156 pages about the higher duty every teacher owes to the students entrusted to his care and to the parents of those students, as well. According to the writers of this book the members of the academic senate seem only concerned with their own personal problems and somewhat outraged at the bruises which they feel are being inflicted on the supersensitive carcass of what they refer to as academic freedom.

There cannot be the slightest doubt about the existence of student Communist organizations at the University of California in Berkeley and Los Angeles. There is also a student Communist unit at Stanford; one at the University of Southern California and others at various state colleges, junior colleges and some of the larger high schools throughout the State, as has already been stated.

Experience indicates that each of these units does not simply spring into spontaneous existence; each is comprised of students who have been recruited to Communism by the now familiar and unchanging techniques that have proved so effective. Each of these student units is an integral and extremely important part of the entire Communist apparatus. As such, it must necessarily be directed from above. Any novice in this field knows that the Communist Party would never—under any circumstances—allow such student units to function without adult guidance and instruction.

The chief objective of every campus unit of the Party is recruiting. As soon as a crop of students becomes "politically mature," as the Party puts it, they are assigned to various recruiting duties; and this entire program is most carefully supervised by adult Communists who are specialists in this field.



### **Party Structure**

In previous reports, the committee has described how the Party organization functions—and since it has been changed somewhat since the last report was published—it may be well to describe it as it now exists.

The source of all authority is the Soviet Union. There each foreign Communist Party is merely regarded as a section in the international Communist organization. This has been the case since the establishment of the Comintern in 1919, and is even more pronounced today than ever. Representatives from the Soviet Union have complete control of all activities in the country to which they may be assigned.

Next comes the national committee, then the regions, then the districts, then the counties or other convenient geographical divisions, then the sections, then the branches, then the clubs or units, and then the fractions and the cells.

In addition, there are commissions and bureaus as well as other infrequently-used divisions—but these are employed with extreme flexibility and have none of the permanent character of the divisions mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

New recruits are thoroughly imbued with the necessity of rigid Party discipline. The assignments and directives always come from above, and must be accepted and executed instantly and without question.

Decisions of the Soviet Union are transmitted through its representatives in this Country to the national committee. It in turn issues directives to the district committees. Each district committee then carries out the instructions by transmitting specific directives to the proper county organizers. They, in turn, give specific instructions to such lesser functionaries as the section organizers, who make suitable assignments to branch and unit officers.

In Los Angeles County there is a campus branch of the Communist organization and the student Communists at U. C. L. A. are organized into a club which is known as the Mike Quinn Club of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County. Headquarters for this club are located at 124 West Sixth Street in the City of Los Angeles, where the office of the Communist Party of Los Angeles is also situated.

At Berkeley the campus branch of the Communist Party is comprised of two student clubs, called the Merriman and Haldane clubs of the Communist Party of Alameda County, and headquarters for these two student organizations are also situated at Party headquarters in the City of Oakland.

Since World War II and particularly following the conviction of the 11 members of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States in Judge Medina's court the Communist Party of the United States has been constantly moving deeper underground. The club and unit meetings which were theretofore held with great regularity have now been broken up into much smaller units and meet under conditions of the utmost secrecy.

Obviously, the Communists' movements must depend upon a continual stream of recruits; and, for equally plain reasons, the most intensive recruiting is from the impressionable youth of the Country. In the files of the committee are hundreds of Soviet and Communist publications that emphasize this fact in clear and unmistakable terms. It is true, of course, that from the ranks of labor unions, from minority groups, and indeed from all levels of our social structure are drawn recruits to Communism. One fact emerges with crystal clarity: the chief source of recruits that are considered of greatest potential value to the party lies in the vast reservoir of the Nation's youth, especially the students.

Usually the faculty members who secretly belong to the Communist Party are scrupulously protected from exposure. This is not especially difficult, because they are permitted to guardedly criticize Communism and the Soviet Union and are not only insulated away from all known or suspected Party members but are not even permitted to take Party literature or to participate in any front organization activities.

Several years ago, when fighting Communism was considered somewhat unfashionable, the Party was much less careful and Communist teachers thronged into the front organizations—and were sometimes even given membership cards under party names.

Today the current party line, so far as teachers who are members of the Communist Party are concerned, consists of two basic concepts: that one must produce documentary proof of Communist membership; and, that "guilt by association" is a foul and evil technique that is only employed by fascists and which strikes at the very heart of our cherished civil liberties.

In the first place, there is no such thing as a "card-carrying Communist," although the phrase sounds well, and there haven't been any such Communists for several years, for the simple reason that membership cards have not been issued. In the second place, those who are most articulate in condemning "guilt by association," never really seem to get around to pointing out just what is so evil about it when applied to the exposure of Communists and fellow-travelers.

### ***Guilt by Participation***

We must never lose sight of the fact that in dealing with Communism we are dealing with an international conspiracy; a highly-developed, complex, disciplined, well-organized conspiracy that operates behind a cloak of secrecy calculated to be as impenetrable as human ingenuity will permit. And the Russian Communists are peculiarly adept in such matters—and have taught their American comrades thoroughly.

Without any desire to appear fatuous, the committee points out that the study of Communism—its origin, philosophy, development, its labyrinth of front organizations, its infiltration and recruiting techniques and its constantly changing party lines; its propaganda and literature, require years of constant and serious study. This business of penetrating

the secrecy that now surrounds every activity of the Party and each of its members is no simple task to be undertaken by amateurs.

Those readers who have had some investigative experience will appreciate immediately that in analyzing the personal characteristics of any individual, one must know the type of persons with whom he associates; the sort of literature he reads; the sort of organizations to which he belongs; his standard of living; how his neighbors regard him; his credit rating. Then one is in a position to investigate the activities in which the individual may be engaged.

Thus, if a detective is seeking to apprehend a man who is reputed to be a thief, he would naturally inquire among the haunts of such people; and if he found that the suspect was constantly in the company of known thieves with prison records and was enrolled in a school where he was assiduously studying the use of explosives, the oxy-acetylene torch and the construction of safes, it would add somewhat to the picture. True, he would not be justified in arresting the man or accusing him of being a burglar—because no overt act had been committed. But if a house in the neighborhood where the suspect lives was burglarized, and the suspect was found to have been absent from his accustomed haunts when the offense was committed, and the day before he had been observed by three people gazing intently at the second-floor window through which an entry was effected—then these circumstances which stemmed from finding out his associations and general activities would become highly important indeed. The same principle may be applied to exposure of Communists.

If a man—a college professor, say—has joined and actively participated in the activities of a large number of Communist-front organizations over a considerable period of time; if he consistently subscribes to and reads official Communist Party literature and propaganda; if he is actually teaching a course as a member of a faculty in a Communist Party school; if he habitually associates with known Communists and fellow-travelers—are legislative and congressional committees to ignore such evidence? Those who have been taken in by the “guilt by association” propaganda will immediately say: “After all, these associations do not make the man a part of the Communist conspiracy.” No? Let us see. Any person who is at all informed on the subject knows that a great deal of money and a great number of recruits to Communism come to the Party through its complicated system of front organizations. These fronts have been defined, analyzed and examined and listed in every one of this committee’s five reports. They have been identified by the United States Department of Justice, and they have also been listed by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. They are not only part and parcel of the Communist system, but they are a vitally essential cog in the Party apparatus. They are used to condition American thinking along the current Communist Party line. They are of extreme importance as propaganda media. They were used before the last world war to paralyze our defense effort along the well-known

"Yanks are not coming" line. When the Soviet Union was invaded in June, 1941, they were used to stimulate our defense effort and to clamor for a "second front now," to relieve the pressure against Russia at the expense of American lives whether we were ready or not. Immediately after the war they urged us to bring our troops home from China and sought to convince us that the Chinese Communists were just an organization of agricultural liberals with no Moscow connections. They were used to make us fearful of "thought control," of "guilt by association." They are now being used to condition our people against universal military training and other defense measures, and to soften us up in every possible way for the eventual kill.

After we developed the atomic bomb, with the enthusiastic assistance of the Canadian Communists, and such American counterparts as Dr. Frank Oppenheimer, Irving David Fox, and members of the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, the fronts were used in an effort to persuade us to give our atomic secrets to the world. The current Communist Party line that is being announced through the front organizations seeks to persuade us that there is no use worrying about the Communist Party in this Country now because it is well under control through the various governmental agencies, and that we shouldn't be too worried about it any more because its membership has shrunk and its activities have been curtailed.

These fronts, then, are not just innocent intellectual groups—they are a vital part of the Communist conspiracy. Any person who persists in joining one after another of these organizations over a period of years is guilty of actively aiding the Communist conspiracy against his own government. And it is precisely that simple. Any of us might be fooled once or twice into joining a front organization, and that is the purpose for which the Party uses such devices. But even a moron should know what he is doing if he actively participates in these fronts over and over again; and if he takes the Communist publications and associates with known Communists as well—then he is participating in the attempt to subvert our government, and he should be regarded for precisely what he is: the agent of a foreign power. And we should not be wheedled into excusing him by any soft notions about "guilt by association." Such an individual, by his own deliberate choice of activity, falls under what we believe is a much more accurate phrase: "guilt by participation," but the Party apologists and propagandists don't like that one. "Guilt by association" suits their purposes much better.

In a recent decision by the United States Supreme Court upholding the validity of the non-Communist oath provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, Mr. Justice Jackson wrote a concurring opinion in which he said:

"There has recently entered the dialectic of politics a cliché used to condemn the conspiracy principle to Communists. 'Guilt by association' is an epithet frequently used and little explained, except that it is generally accompanied by another slogan, 'guilt is personal.' Of course it is; but personal guilt may be incurred by joining a conspiracy."



The creeping paralysis of Communism has been so subtle, so insidious, so obscure, so surrounded with a bewildering array of front organizations that it managed to penetrate into almost every sphere of American society before the campaign of exposure finally managed to disclose the Communist conspiracy and techniques to an apathetic public. For years the little groups of students who were seen almost daily at the entrances to the university campuses throughout the Country, passing out propaganda leaflets, haranguing their fellow students and echoing the current Party line, were regarded with tolerant amusement. They were regarded as unimportant, tiny little groups that could produce no real harm. But from these tiny groups came recruits into the Communist Party itself. From precisely such groups as these were drawn the future Party leaders, the scientists and professors who developed into fanatic Communists like Dr. Allan Nunn May, and Klaus Fuchs, and others who have now been convicted of turning over precious secrets concerning the atomic bomb to agents of the Soviet Union. From such tiny groups as these have been developed men like Alger Hiss and Harold Ware and Whittaker Chambers and John Abt and Nathan Witt and Charles Kramer and Lee Pressman and Harry Gold—these and many others are the product of such small cliques of student Communists.

It must be quite clear by now that anyone who aids and abets in the business of turning over our most precious defense secrets to a foreign power—a power that has openly declared to us that it intends to crush us with every means at its command, must be regarded as an enemy.

If this conspiracy were not international Communism, but rather a program for the indoctrination and training of the familiar variety of relatively unimportant, home-grown criminals—burglars, let us say, none of us would condone the actions of our acquaintances or colleagues who contributed money or otherwise aided such a group. If there was a school in San Francisco or Los Angeles which was run by an admitted burglar, and at which embryonic young burglars were taught to engage in their criminal art—the university would recoil in horror at the idea of joining hands with such an institution in a two-day affair on the campus.

But along comes a Communist school, the director of which is a Party member; a school where embryonic young Communists are taught contempt for our courts, our most sacred and cherished institutions, and where they are instructed to lie under oath and to subvert our Country—and the university welcomes the school to its campus.

So far as academic freedom is concerned, the experience of Mr. Granville Hicks, a former Party member, should convince the most skeptical that no teacher can enjoy academic freedom and be a Communist at the same time. They, even more than rank and file members of the Party, are under the strictest party discipline. Mr. Hicks incurred the wrath of his Communist superiors because he refused to announce himself in favor of the Hitler-Stalin nonaggression pact. Hicks said, "If the Party had left any room for doubt, I could go along with it \* \* \* but they made it clear that if I eventually found it impossible to defend



the pact, and defend it in their terms, there was nothing for me to do but resign." (*New Republic*, October 4, 1939.)

As has already been stated, members of the faculty and other employees at the University of California based their main objection to the taking of a supplemental oath of non-Communist affiliation, such as that prescribed by the board of regents, on the fact that they had already taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the State of California, and they could see no reason why they should be singled out as a peculiarly suspect group of individuals and be made to take a supplemental and implementing oath. They reasoned that the oath which they had already taken was the same sort of oath which was required of every elective officer in the State of California from the Governor on down, and they contended that they should not be separated from other classes of society and be made to take a special non-Communist oath. One of the answers to this contention lies in the fact that teachers, unlike other individuals, come into daily contact with great numbers of young and impressionable students, and if there are even a few undercover Communists on the faculties of our educational institutions, and if they manage to indoctrinate and fanaticize as a Party member one or two students in a period of several years, they have performed a tremendous service for the Soviet Union.

Some of the language used by Justice Jackson in the Supreme Court decision, from which a quotation has already been made, seems to this committee to pretty well sum up the attitude that we should all have toward the taking of an oath of loyalty. Justice Jackson said:

"I am aware that the oath is resented by many labor leaders of unquestioned loyalty and above suspicion of Communist connections, indeed by some who themselves have taken bold and difficult steps to rid the labor movement of Communists. I suppose no one likes to be compelled to exonerate himself from connections he has never acquired. I have sometimes wondered why I must file papers showing I did not steal my car before I can get a license for it. But experience shows there are thieves among automobile drivers, and that there are Communists among labor leaders. The public welfare, in identifying both, outweighs any affront to individual dignity."

It is equally obvious that the taking of such an oath, whether it implements a general oath already taken or not, is resented by many teachers of unquestioned loyalty and above suspicion of Communist connections—and by many who have long records of anti-Communist activities. Experience indicates, also, that the Communist Party has concentrated on the teaching profession as much as it has concentrated on the trade union movement for the purpose of insinuating secret members of the Communist Party into high and sensitive positions for the purpose of indoctrination of those with whom they come in contact. Of course, the welfare of the parents, the students, the educational institutions and the Country as a whole far outweighs any affront to academic freedom in requiring that teachers who come in contact with groups of students be

compelled to take an implementing oath of loyalty to the United States and to declare that they are not affiliated with the Communist Party.

On August 31, 1950, an announcement was made through the columns of the *Los Angeles Times* and other papers, that Prof. Edward C. Tolman, a member of the academic senate, on the Berkeley campus of the University of California, and who was acting as chairman of a group of nonsigning professors, stated that the group had hired a San Francisco attorney for the purpose of bringing into court the question of whether or not the board of regents could force them to take a non-Communist oath, or sign a non-Communist statement as a condition precedent to teaching at the university. Professor Tolman resigned from the faculty, and in October, 1950, an issue of *Life Magazine* displayed pictures of the professor sadly waving farewell as he left the Berkeley campus. In this regard it might be appropriate to show what type of leadership the nonsigning members of the academic senate had. Records of this committee and the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities disclose the following :

(1) In 1939 Professor Tolman was a subscriber to the *Daily People's World* at 1530 La Loma, Berkeley, California.

(2) Professor Tolman was affiliated with a Communist-front organization known as the *American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom*. Other persons who were affiliated with this organization were: Prof. Frank Boas, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Harlow Shapley, Prof. Clarence M. Dykstra, Paul Robeson, Van Wyck Brooks, Lillian Hellman, Prof. George P. Adams, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Freda Kirchwey, Dashiell Hammett, Donald Ogden Stewart, Herman Shumlin, Lewis Mumford, Rockwell Kent, Morris Carnovsky, Hugh DeLacey, Prof. Willystine Goodsell, George Seldes, Lewis Alan Berne, Carol Weiss King, Prof. J. Robert Openheimer, Robert W. Kenny, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett. Tolman was also affiliated with the following Communist fronts:

(3) *American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born*. Other individuals affiliated with this Communist-front organization were: Hugh DeLacey, Prof. Leo Eloesser, Van Wyck Brooks, Lewis Alan Berne, Prof. Frank Boas, Rockwell Kent, Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Donald Ogden Stewart, Ella Winter, Morris Carnovsky, Abram Flaxer, Mr. and Mrs. Fredric March, Paul Robeson, Frank Tuttle, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, George Seldes, Herman Shumlin.

(4) *American Committee to Save Refugees*. Other individuals who were connected with this Communist-dominated organization were: Prof. Frank Boas, Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Herbert Biberman, Dashiell Hammett, Albert Maltz, Van Wyck Brooks, Donald Ogden Stewart, Prof. Haakon M. Chevalier, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Lillian Hellman, Dr. Edward K. Barsky, Ruth McKinney, George Seldes.

(5) *Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo* (Against Spain). Other individuals connected with this Communist-front organization were: Lewis Alan Berne, Mervyn Rathborne, Marcel Scherer, Robert W. Kenny, Lee Pressman, Paul Robeson, Van Wyck Brooks, Lillian Hellman, Dashiell Hammett, Freda Kirchwey, Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach, Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Leo Eloesser.

(6) *National Emergency Conference*. Other members of this Communist-dominated organization were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Lewis Alan Berne, Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach, Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Carol Weiss King, Freda Kirchway, Prof. Alain Locke, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Mervyn Rathborne, George Seldes, Prof. Harlow Shapley, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Donald Ogden Stewart.

(7) *National Federation for Constitutional Liberties*. Other signers of an open letter from this organization for the purpose of abolishing the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities were: Philip M. Connelly, Hugh DeLacey, Dashiell Hammett, Rockwell Kent, Carol Weiss King, Albert Maltz, Vito Marcantonio, Bruce Minton, George Seldes, Herman Shumlin, Donald Ogden Stewart, Paul Robeson, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Max Bedacht, Joseph R. Brodsky, Van Wyck Brooks, Morris Carnovsky, Abraham J. Isserman, Paul Jarrico, Freda Kirchwey, Prof. Leo Eloesser, Abram Flaxer, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Leo Gallagher, Prof. Willystine Goodsell, Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Lee Pressman, Prof. Melvin Rader, Howard Selsam, Anna Louise Strong, Frank Tuttle.

(8) *New Masses Open Letter to President Roosevelt*. Other signers of this letter which sought to stop the Congressional Investigation of Communism in the United States, were: Prof. Frank Boas, Dashiell Hammett, Rockwell Kent, Ring Lardner, Jr., Albert Maltz, Sam Ornitz, Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Paul Robeson, George Seldes, Howard Selsam, Prof. Harlow Shapley, Donald Ogden Stewart, Herman Shumlin.

(9) *Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*. Other signers of the petition sent to President Roosevelt by this Communist-dominated organization protesting the Attorney General's attack on the Brigade, which was simply a group of Communists sent to fight in the Spanish revolution were: Prof. Frank Boas, Dashiell Hammett, Rockwell Kent, Ring Lardner, Jr., Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, George Seldes, Prof. Harlow Shapley, Herman Shumlin, Paul Robeson, Vito Marcantonio, Anna Louise Strong, Lillian Hellman, Van Wyck Brooks, Prof. Robert S. Lynn, Mervyn Rathborne.

It is submitted on the basis of the foregoing record, that Professor Tolman, through his constant association with the same individuals over and over again in a parade of Communist-front organizations, and in his reading of the Communist Party newspaper in California, either must have known exactly what he was doing in lending his name, his prestige, his financial contributions and his time to furthering these important

Communist-front organizations, or if he was not intelligent enough to realize what he was doing, then he had no business teaching as a member of the academic senate at the University of California. It is an excellent illustration of a man who, over a considerable period of time, has deliberately affiliated himself with one Communist-front organization after another.

As a further indication that the interest of the Communist Party, both in the Soviet Union and in this Country, has always been focussed on the indoctrination of our youth in schools, colleges and universities, it was Lenin that once said: "Give us the child for eight years and it will be a bolshevik forever."

The Party has not neglected rural communities, either, and has always campaigned to insinuate Communist teachers in rural schools throughout the Country. Along that line, the official monthly magazine of the Communist Party in the United States has stated:

"In rural communities, teachers who are among the few educated people are looked up to with tremendous respect. They are in a position to become community leaders.

"As a means of mobilizing the people in the villages and countryside, steps should be taken to try to send Communist teachers into rural communities where they should become active in all community organizations.

"The Party should work actively within Parent-Teachers Associations and all similar organizations."

In June, 1936, Earl Browder, then the head of the party, addressed the national convention in New York as follows:

"Our eighth convention placed the youth question as the concern of the entire Party. The results since then, even with inadequate attention for the Party committees, have been most valuable. Ten-fold progress will be made when every Party committee takes up this question, giving guidance and aid to the young people. This convention must begin an even brighter period in the youth movement. Who wins the youth wins the future of America."

William Z. Foster, who succeeded Browder and who is now the head of the Communist Party in this country, stated:

"Our teachers must write new school text books and rewrite history from the Marxian standpoint."

And the Attorney General of the United States has recently declared:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation has learned that the Communists have started a campaign to recruit our children to their ideology—the younger the better."

It appears to the committee that a university as large as the University of California, with eight campuses, should have an adequate facility for the purpose of coordinating all efforts on the part of the administrators of the university to prevent recurrences of affairs like



the Writers' Congress at U. C. L. A. and collaboration with the Communist school on the Berkeley campus. There is a university police department, and its offices are located in the same building on the Berkeley campus as the main administrative office of the university. It appears to the committee that sufficient authority should be delegated to the police department for the purpose of enabling that organization to screen all groups before the university commits itself to extend the use of the university facilities to such affairs as the Writers' Congress and the two-day function with the California Labor School. If such authority had been delegated in 1943 and 1946, it is difficult to understand how the university could have brought upon itself such a torrent of unfavorable publicity by unwittingly joining hands with these Communist organizations. The same thing applies to the employment of individuals like Mr. Kenneth MacGowan, an ex-teacher in a Communist school, and other faculty members who have records of long and numerous affiliations with a host of Communist-front organizations. It is not a difficult matter to obtain information concerning these things, but it is manifestly impossible for one individual to handle the job in such a large institution as the University of California. As will be seen in that section of this report entitled "The Hudson Case," indoctrination at universities can lead to the actual death of a highly-developed student who received his Communist indoctrination while he was attending Stanford University and U. C. L. A. It would be a relatively simple matter to prevent professors at the university from engaging in the extra-curricular activity of also teaching in Communist schools.

One of the objections that has been made to turning over to the university police department such a function has been the contention that the university does not wish to set up a gestapo on its campus. The committee is unable to see the logic in this contention. It makes no difference whether such a function is turned over to the police department or to some other university organization. The time has come when the university simply must take some step on a coordinated basis to prevent the recurrences of situations which led to the Writers' Congress and collaboration with the Communist Party School in San Francisco. That is a duty which the administration of the university owes to the people of this State.

It is a very simple matter to get the list of Communist-front organizations that has been printed by the Department of Justice of the United States. The reports and facilities of this committee have always been available to the university authorities, but they have seldom been consulted. It is a simple matter to get the extremely valuable and accurate reports issued by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, and by a simple reference to the works of official bodies that have had years of experience in this highly complicated field of activities, the university could take the proper steps to protect itself from unfavorable publicity.



It is a matter of common knowledge that familiarity with Communist-front organizations, Party recruiting techniques, and the undercover insinuation of Communist Party members into the faculties of universities is not a subject that can be turned over to the inexperienced layman. It seems to this committee that the university could well afford to employ an expert who has had the proper background of practical experience in this field, and delegate to him sufficient authority to set up on the various campuses of the university some sort of a coordinated organization—not a gestapo—but simply a medium through which information, properly documented, concerning known members of the Communist Party, Communist-front organizations, student organizers, recruiting experts, Communist-dominated and suspect organizations could be maintained and kept up to date. In that manner the university, at very little additional expense to itself, would be able to protect itself from the very natural and inevitable criticism that will come every time the institution is hoodwinked into engaging in joint enterprises with Communist organizations.

The basic purpose of Communist teachers and their peculiar value to the Communist Party is well summarized in an article written by Richard Frank in the May, 1937, issue of *The Communist*, monthly ideological magazine published under the auspices of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States. On pages 432-435, Mr. Frank writes:

“The function of the bourgeois school system can be expressed very simply as being the training of efficient and docile wage slaves. In other words, the task of the public schools is the ideological preparation for the perpetuation of capitalism.

“Rebelliousness of school children, directed against a part of the state machinery itself, is something that the Communists cannot afford to ignore. This, together with their desire for knowledge and social life, must form the starting point for our work among students in the schools.

“The problem in organizing public school students is not to set up separate aims, lead a separate struggle apart from this already existing rebelliousness of students. Such actions would result merely in the creation of small sects of students isolated from the lives of students as a whole. The problem is rather to guide and direct that spirit of rebelliousness that already exists. This means to root ourselves in the lives of a majority of the students. It means to make the interests of the students our own, to set up for ourselves those needs separate and apart from the interests and needs of the main body of students, but to crystallize and make clear those interests, to arouse in the students a consciousness that arouses their resentment, accordingly to give their elemental spirit of rebelliousness definite and effective direction, and thus to place ourselves at the head of the students in a conscious movement to improve their conditions.”

“\* \* \* The task of the Communist student groups must be to coordinate and stimulate to activity all existing student groups. To the best of their ability they must supplement the curriculum with Marxist-Leninist education.”

“\* \* \* While teachers are part of the working class, their function differs vastly from that of the industrial worker. Communist teachers cannot afford to ignore this fact—that they come in contact with the children of the masses, that they are responsible for training these children, and this will be true to a much greater extent in a socialist society than now. Communist teachers are, therefore, faced with a tremendous social responsibility. They must consider not only their own teacher problems, but the problems of the children. They must fight for the latter. They must mobilize the other teachers in this fight. They must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves, to give their students to the best of their ability working class education.

“To enable the teachers in the Party to do the latter, the Party must take careful steps to see that all teacher comrades are given thorough education in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism, will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teachings at the least risk of exposure and at the same time to conduct its struggles around the schools in a truly bolshevik manner.”

## INDOCTRINATION OF STUDENTS—CASE HISTORIES

### SEATTLE HEARING

During December of 1948, at the invitation of the Washington State Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, three members of this committee and its counsel went to Seattle to attend hearings concerning Communist infiltration at the University of Washington. For several days testimony was introduced into the record by a long procession of witnesses to the effect that several faculty members at the university had for a number of years been secret members of the Communist Party. As a result of these hearings two of the professors, Professor Ralph H. Gundlach, whose name has already been mentioned in another section of this report, and Professor Herbert Phillipps, were discharged from the university. Both Professor Gundlach and Professor Phillipps were summoned to the witness stand, but steadfastly refused to answer any questions concerning their Communist affiliations or concerning other individuals whom they might have known as Communist Party members. On the other hand, many witnesses testified that they had been members of the Communist Party and that they had attended innumerable closed Communist meetings with both Gundlach and Phillipps. The important aspect of the hearing was not whether the university was justified in discharging these two individuals for the sole reason that they had affiliated with the Communist Party, but rather what influence these two teachers had on the students with whom they came in contact. Did they, as members of the Communist Party, and therefore subject to its discipline and its instructions and directives, proceed to indoctrinate the students in their classes? Did they actively participate in mass student recruiting? Did they follow the technique of driving a psychological wedge between the student and his parents and his home? Did

they succeed in their indoctrination technique in recruiting any students into the Communist Party? In these things the members of this committee were primarily interested, and as a result of the disclosures made by the Washington State committee during the summer of 1948, the members of the California committee who attended the hearing in Seattle returned far better equipped to study and analyze similar problems in this State.

Among the experts who were called upon to testify at the Seattle hearing was Mr. Howard Rushmore, who himself had been a member of the Communist Party and who had worked on a publication issued by the Young Communist League of the United States, as well as on the editorial staff of the *Daily Worker* in New York, which is, of course, the official publication of the Communist Party of the United States. In addition to Mr. Rushmore, who is now on the *New York Journal-American*, Dr. J. B. Matthews, formerly Research Director for the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, gave a great deal of extremely valuable testimony. For the purpose of documenting this portion of this report, your committee deems it appropriate to quote liberally from the testimony of such experts as Dr. Matthews and Mr. Rushmore. Dr. Matthews, who has a nation-wide reputation as specialist in the field of Communist infiltration of schools, colleges and universities, testified, in part, as follows:

“First and perhaps of greatest importance is the fallacy widely held that the Communist Party is a political party in the ordinary sense of that term as Americans commonly understand the term. While it is true that the so-called Communist Party enjoys legal status in most of the states of the union, it is nevertheless a fact that the Communist Party is not, in any real sense of the word, a political party. The differences between it and a political party are of the greatest importance.

“Time and again in the literature of the Communist party it has been explained that political campaigns are entered into not so much for the purpose of electing officials to office as for the purpose of propagating the ideas of the party. The literature of the Communist Party has also stated that when and if the Communist is elected to public office he is not to use his office as a means of participating in the usual legislative processes; he is to use his political office as a sounding board, as a forum from which to attack the very system under which he has been elected. That appears over and over again in the literature of the Communist Party over the past twenty-five or thirty years.

“The fact is that the Communist Party is an arm of the foreign office of the Soviet Government. That is its chief characteristic, that is the function which it serves and intends to serve above all else.

“Communism, instead of being a radical doctrine for the reorganization of our social and economic relationships is a foreign-controlled conspiracy to destroy the American system of government.

“There is also a fallacy that Communists are liberals. In fact, so often has the word ‘liberal’ been attached to Communists who

often have themselves claimed to be mere liberals or progressives, that the very word of liberalism has fallen into a disrepute from which it is difficult to see any rehabilitation for it.

"The most illiberal, unprogressive movement in the world today is the international Communist movement. It is a throw back to the dark ages; it is the denial of every principle of liberalism and progressivism, it has nothing in common with either one. If Communism spreads throughout the world, if the Communists achieve their objective of world domination, there is an absolute certainty that a slave society, the like of which the world has never known, even in the most primitive times, would be established.

"The individuals in the United States who have maintained vociferously in recent years that legislative investigating committees proceed irregularly without due regard for the constitutional rights of citizens, are either abysmally ignorant of the history of this country, or else they have a special axe to grind.

"Time and again self-styled liberal and progressive groups who are usually the victims of the underhanded manipulation of the Communists, have conformed resolutions demanding that such committees as yours, Mr. Chairman, grant the right of counsel and cross-examination to your witnesses. The legislative procedures, both in the federal government and in the respective states, that are followed today, have been followed for more than a hundred years, and the intelligent citizen knows that. He is either ignorant or sinister if he denies it.

"The Supreme Court in innumerable cases, over a period of more than a hundred years, has upheld the procedure of legislative investigations which did not utilize counsel for witnesses or permit cross-examination of witnesses.

"There is no denial of the civil rights of any witness before a legislative investigation. That is partly due to the fact that a witness before a legislative investigation is not under prosecution and is not subject to prosecution for any testimony he may give, or fail to give, at a legislative inquiry, unless he commits contempt or perjury.

"There is a fallacy widely held, particularly in the academic world, that academic freedom is infringed by legislative investigations such as this. It may be that somewhere in the many statements made by the American Association of University Professors, a definition of academic freedom has been set down which includes more than the right of a Communist to hold a teaching position, or which includes more than the rights of teachers in the academic world. It seems to me that it ought to be clear that there are three parties involved in the academic world and that all have rights and that academic freedom applies to all.

"Academic freedom should certainly include the freedom of parents to dissent upon being compelled to subject their children to subversive teachings in the public and state schools. Have parents no rights in the academic world? I think they have rights equal to the teaching profession. And certainly the duly constituted authorities of our state and federal governments have not only freedoms



and rights but obligations in the academic field to see to it that subversive fifth-column agents and activities are not carried on under the guise of academic freedom.

"I hope the American Association of University Professors will get around to reviewing the whole question of academic freedom in a larger light. It involves far more than saying that the hungry should be fed, the naked clothed, and the ill-housed have better homes, the slums should be abolished. I am sure there is no legislative body in America that wants to curtail the rights of teachers to speak their minds on issues of that sort, but when it comes to a teacher concealing his identity under the conspiratorial cloak of an alias and serving the agent or stooge agent of a foreign power, if legislatures have no rights in the matter, then we have abdicated the obligation to make this country secure; and if parents have no rights and obligations in that situation then we have reached a pass where we must surrender to the most brutal force that threatens to override the world.

"There is a fallacy which I fear is held too widely among Communists in this country, and I think it is particularly regrettable that that fallacy is held by young people in our schools. Undoubtedly to some of them their Communism is a lark. It's a form of adventure, a form of excitement. Marching in a picket line or chanting some silly phrase interests some young people. The exuberance of youth has an outlet in that kind of activity but there is one of the most dangerous fallacies possible to hold in that view if young people hold it. The fallacy rests upon this stern fact that the hour is getting late and these young people who find adventure and excitement in Communism today may shortly find themselves standing in front of firing squads having been drawn more or less unwittingly into acts of sabotage and treason if their country gets into war, and let no one make any mistake about it, the United States will defend itself if it has to go to war."

Mr. Rushmore, testifying concerning the rapid development of students who were brought first into the Young Communist League and then into the Communist Party, as espionage agents who became traitors to their country, stated:

"\* \* \* Members of the Young Communist League, stationed in various army areas or navy ports, had contacts aboard ships or in the army. They would supply, through a rather involved series of mail drops, party directives, party literature, to these contacts in the navy and the army.

"This work has been carried on consistently but very, very secretly by the Communist Party and the Young Communist League since—well, for two decades. It is interesting to note that in spite of this sort of activity the Communist Party issued in 1945 a leaflet called 'Buddies, Patriots, Communists,' issued by the New York State Election Committee, Communist Party. I quote from this pamphlet or leaflet:

"The Communists have a proud tradition of fighting in the ranks of the anti-fascist people. Three thousand American Communists fought in Spain in the Lincoln Battalion against the axis



attacks on democracy. After Pearl Harbor more than 15,000 of New York's Communists served their country in the armed forces within the Merchant Marine. We who fought side by side with our fellow Americans for the victory, want a lasting peace.'

"The Communist Party welcomes this opportunity to enter the armed forces, and since they have been mustered out they have publicly declared that they intend to join the American Legion, work within that organization; they have captured large forces of the American Veterans' Committee; and they still have comrades in the armed services who are carrying on espionage work for Stalin in our own army and navy; but they have maintained these contacts, these comrades in the various armed forces, as I've said, off and on for twenty years."

### THE HUDSON CASE

Within a period of two months after the members of the California Legislature's committee returned to California from Seattle they came upon a case which involved the death of a young student at the University of California in Los Angeles. For a little more than two years the committee and its staff investigated all of the facts and background connected with this tragic case, and managed to collect letters that had been written by the boy to his friends and colleagues in California, and thus to obtain the story of his indoctrination with Communism at Stanford University and at U. C. L. A.

In the process of studying this case, this committee was struck by the similarity in the technique used to recruit this boy with that which had been discussed in Seattle with regard to the recruiting of two University of Washington students into the Communist Party by reason of their contacts with Professors Gundlach and Phillipps at that institution. Within the last four months, this committee has come across two other cases in California, one of which involved the indoctrination of a high school student, and his alienation from his parents, and the other involving the indoctrination of a young girl, and the driving of the same sort of a psychological wedge between her and her parents as was evident in the other four cases.

The committee determined that now, for the first time in the years of its existence, it had come across documentary evidence which removed all possible doubt concerning the precise techniques used by the Communist Party in working insidiously on young students to the point where they were alienated from their parents, their homes, their fundamental allegiance to the government of the United States, and transformed into fanatic members of the world-wide Communist revolution.

There has been a lot of talk by educational administrators about "definitive evidence" of Communist affiliation, or of Communist infiltration in schools and universities throughout the State. The committee submits that it could produce no more reliable evidence than letters written by the hand of a Communist student, now dead, describing the extent of Communist infiltration at the schools and universities he was

attending at the time he wrote the letters. In the case of the U. C. L. A. student, the committee has precisely that type of documentation.

It was decided that a hearing should be held in the City of Los Angeles, that the father of the U. C. L. A. student should be subpoenaed to testify under oath, and that all of the ramifications, not only of the U. C. L. A. case, but the two cases at the University of Washington and the cases of the high school student and the young girl in California be brought together for the purpose of setting forth not only the technique used by Communist Party recruiting experts to keep a constant stream of impressionable youths coming into the ranks of the Party, but to illustrate by these case histories the very real dangers that exist in tolerating faculty members and teachers who come to institutions fresh from their experiences as teachers and lecturers in Communist Party schools. The committee believes that in these case histories it is performing a very real and very practical service to every educator in the State of California, and it earnestly hopes that the proper conclusions will be drawn from the evidence presented in this section.

The hearing in Los Angeles concerning these matters was commenced on Thursday, December 14, 1950, and continued through the following day. Since most of the evidence was documentary in character, it was not necessary for the committee to call a large number of witnesses. Accordingly, it summoned Dr. Fredrick Newbarr, Chief Autopsy Surgeon for the Los Angeles Coroner's Office; William A. Hudson, father of the boy whose body was found in a dormitory near the U. C. L. A. campus; Robert G. Seigliano, a student who is now attending the University of California at Los Angeles; John H. Blewett, Jr., an investigator and former deputy in the Los Angeles Marshal's Office; Norman Mini, a former Communist Party member and teacher in Communist Party schools; Bert L. Hanman, a former Communist Party member and expert in the field of psychology; and R. E. Combs, the committee's counsel. The rest of the evidence produced consisted in a great number of letters, pamphlets, notes, books and other documents found in the possession of the U. C. L. A. student shortly after his death, in an affidavit executed by the father of the high school student who was alienated temporarily from his parents by Communist Party recruiting agents, and by records of the superior court which set forth the facts in the other California case. In addition, reference was made to the official transcript of the hearing in Seattle before the Washington State Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities.

Commencing with the U. C. L. A. case, it should first be pointed out that the parents of this particular student, whose name was Everitt Hudson, have lived in Los Angeles County for approximately 30 years, the father being an architect by profession, and Everitt being an only child. The boy was raised under almost ideal circumstances and his home was an example of an average American home. There was a religious background, but there was no religious intolerance in the family; there was no domestic friction between the parents, which would disrupt the

normal and placid environment of the home; it was simply an average, clean, decent American family. According to the testimony of the father, the boy attended the University High School in the vicinity of his home, West Los Angeles, and there received instruction which was slanted to emphasize the defects and the gloomy, seamy side of American life, and in some of his classes there was a tendency to ridicule the American form of government. The boy came home and told his parents that some of his teachers told him he should not read such publications as *Time Magazine* or the *Reader's Digest* because they were not good reading and one-sided. The parents, alarmed at this sort of slanting, determined that there was something wrong at the high school, went to the principal to complain, and were informed by him that he was quite aware that some of the teaching was slanted along Marxian lines, but there was nothing he could do about it.

After graduating from high school, Everitt attended Stanford University and took up some courses that were intended to constitute preparation for eventual study of the law. In 1946 however he was inducted into the Army and sent to Fort Knox, Kentucky. He was offered an opportunity to attend Officer's Candidate School, but preferred to go to the Military Intelligence Language School which was being conducted at Monterey, California, and while there he became proficient in the Japanese and Chinese languages. He was already able to read and write Spanish fluently, as well as French. This precocious ability to easily master a variety of foreign languages was one of the things that made young Hudson so extremely valuable to the Communist Party and which led to his unusually rapid political development in the organization. Immediately after his return to Stanford University after he had received his honorable discharge from the Army, he renewed his old love for foreign languages, and immediately plunged into the study of the Russian language at Stanford with considerable enthusiasm, as will later be seen from a series of letters that he wrote to his parents.

One of young Hudson's purposes in mastering so many foreign languages was his ambition to eventually obtain a position in the government with a view toward possible service abroad. On many occasions in the home he told his parents that he eventually would like to work in the State Department, and for that reason was interested in mastering as many languages as possible. This ambition continued at least until he had entered Stanford University, and so far as we can determine was always one of his most cherished ambitions up until the time of his death in September of 1948.

At the Los Angeles hearing the committee called Dr. Newbarr to the witness stand for the purpose of establishing in the records the reason for the performing of such a thorough post-mortem examination on Everitt Hudson's body, and to obtain an opinion from Dr. Newbarr, as an expert witness, as to the medical causes of the boy's death. Next, the committee called William A. Hudson, for the purpose of authenticating a great mass of letters, pamphlets, memoranda and other documents that

were found in the boy's possession immediately following the discovery of his body. Through the father it was also possible to elicit information concerning the family background, and the various contacts with students who were close to the boy, and a great many details which will appear later in connection with Mr. Hudson's testimony. He was followed to the witness stand by Robert G. Seigliano, a classmate of Everitt's who had considerable information concerning radical and Communist activities on the campus. Seigliano was the last person to see young Hudson alive on the night that he returned with his three companions from a Communist Party meeting in the City of Los Angeles. John H. Blewett, Jr., was the next witness called to testify, and he briefly related some of his experiences in the preliminary investigation of the case. The committee's counsel, Richard E. Combs, then testified concerning some of the investigation that was carried on in this and the other four cases that have already been mentioned, and submitted his report concerning them, and particularly concerning the Hudson case, to the committee as an exhibit. Mr. Combs was followed on the witness stand by Norman Mini, an ex-member of the Communist Party whose particular specialty was teaching in the Communist Party School and training members for positions of leadership in the Communist organization in California, and Mr. Bert L. Hanman, also an ex-member of the Communist Party and an expert in the field of psychology. Mr. Hanman's specialty while he was a member of the Communist movement, was in recruiting new members to the organization. These two expert witnesses proved invaluable to the committee in arriving at a proper evaluation of the subject matter.

In order to make the case clear to the layman, excerpts from the actual testimony of witnesses are liberally reproduced in this section of the report. This is done for the purpose of documenting the record thoroughly, and also for the purpose of highlighting the techniques employed by the Communist Party experts in recruiting young individuals into the movement, and for the purpose of showing, beyond any question the extent of Communist infiltration on the campus at U. C. L. A. The conclusions of the committee, printed as text material, cannot possibly be as impressive and convincing as the actual sworn testimony of the witnesses who are qualified to describe these matters. In addition, the letters that young Hudson wrote and received are reproduced, because in them we find the tragic story of a boy's indoctrination; it being quite obvious that because of his ability to speak Spanish, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian he was of extraordinary value to the Communist movement, and was developed with great rapidity for an important position. As will be seen from the testimony of Mr. Mini, Hudson had given evidence that he was becoming dissatisfied with Communism, and might be ready to disclose to official agencies some of the things he learned in his high-level position as a Communist. Furthermore, the fact that he received warnings and threats of punishment in the event he became frightened and was tempted to betray the Party secrets, makes the testimony of vital importance.



As an illustration of the things that caused Hudson's parents to become greatly alarmed concerning his apparent conversion to Communism, we quote from page 38 of the official transcript, where the father testifies concerning the boy's conversation in the Beverly Hills home when he returned from Stanford to spend a vacation period with his parents, and the comments of the father concerning the type of guests that young Hudson was bringing home to talk to his parents.

**Testimony of W. A. Hudson**

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): How about the period when he returned to Stanford University?

A. After the Army or before?

Q. After the Army.

A. Well, he immediately left the Army and took no vacation whatever and entered Stanford in his second year.

Q. Do you recall when he came home over the Easter vacation?

A. As a rule he did come home on school vacations.

Q. Was any alarm caused to you or Mrs. Hudson by reason of the fact that the boy talked, as she put it in one of the letters you identified, about Stalin or Lenin to the exclusion of all else? Do you recall that statement?

A. I do.

Q. Was that a fact?

A. Yes.

Q. In other words, when he came back from Stanford he was interested in Stalin and Lenin to the exclusion of everything else?

A. He claimed at that time that was part of his university studies.

Q. And Mrs. Hudson became so alarmed about it she communicated with the authorities at Stanford?

A. She did.

Q. And that sequence of letters you have already identified, haven't you?

A. I have.

Q. At any time during the period when your boy was attending college, that is either at Stanford University before he went into the Army or afterwards, or while he was going to U. C. L. A., would he bring friends and acquaintances to your home from time to time?

A. From time to time the telephone would ring and he would invite them to come to our home.

Q. Do you recall telling me that on one occasion there was a professor of Chinese or Japanese—Japanese, I think it was, in your home, and another individual?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. For dinner?

A. Yes. That was during either the Christmas or the Easter vacation of 1947.



Q. And after the other individual left, whose name you don't recall, did your boy tell you that he was one of the most important Communists in the United States?

A. He did.

Q. That was in 1947?

A. Yes.

Q. That was after he had gotten out of the Army and returned to Stanford?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. Did your boy ever tell you the individual's name?

A. He might have. I don't recall it.

Q. Now, are you able to describe the physical appearance of this individual?

A. He was young, I would say 23, possibly 24 years of age, had brown hair and dark eyes, fair complexion. I don't recall much further than that. I didn't pay a great deal of attention to him.

Q. Do you recall whether or not he came from New York or whether he came from some other place?

A. My son told me he came from Berkeley.

Q. In other words he came from Berkeley, but his home was New York, and he was passing through Los Angeles when he stopped at your house and that he was one of the most important Communist dignitaries in the United States?

A. Yes. That he told me afterwards.

Q. I understand. Would you recognize the person from a photograph, do you think?

A. Possibly so.

Q. Do you think you would recognize the name if you heard it?

A. Possibly so.

Q. Now, Mr. Hudson, after your boy had decided to leave Stanford and enroll at the University of California at Los Angeles, did he live at home when he first came back to attend U. C. L. A.?

A. He did not.

Q. He did not live at home?

A. No.

Q. And your home is located at 1367 North Beverly Drive, isn't it?

A. Yes.

Q. He did establish himself in the cooperative student dormitory near the campus, didn't he?

A. He did.

Q. And he continued to live there until the time of his death, didn't he?

A. That is correct.

Q. Are you familiar with the group of young people, students at U. C. L. A., who lived together in an apartment on Third Street in Santa Monica?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. A group of young girls, weren't they?

A. I believe there was a group of young girls, either four or five.

Q. Was one of them named Helen Edelman?

A. Yes.

Q. And was one of them named Lola Whang?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether or not they were members of the Communist Party?

A. That I don't know.

Q. You don't know of your own knowledge?

A. I do not.

Q. Did you ever hear of a student at U. C. L. A. by the name of Joe Price?

A. I did.

Q. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. That I do not know.

Q. Not of your own knowledge?

A. No, not of my own knowledge.

Q. Do you know whether your son Everitt was intimately acquainted with Joe Price?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. He was?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Extremely well acquainted?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether or not he was equally well acquainted with the girls I mentioned? Helen Edelman and Lola Whang?

A. Yes.

Q. He was?

A. Yes.

Q. As a matter of fact, Everitt loaned some of his property; radio, I believe, or a lamp or something, to the girls at the Santa Monica apartment, didn't he?

A. These girls were establishing a residence on Third Street, and Everitt had said that they lacked some things and could he borrow some lamps and a few other items to help furnish the place; and he did loan them his record player to help furnish their place, which they returned at a later date.

Q. Mr. Hudson, did you know that Lola Whang was a Korean?

A. I was told so by my son.

Q. Your son told you that?

A. Yes.

Q. And did you know that this committee had subpoenaed her at an executive closed session of the committee? Did you know that?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Well, it is a fact, and at the hearing, as the transcript will show, she was accompanied by an attorney who advised her not to answer any questions concerning her acquaintanceship with your son or the circumstances that led up to his death, or any questions concerning her own affiliation with the Communist Party; that she had previously agreed to cooperate with the committee and was advised by the attorney not to cooperate, and she refused to cooperate; these are matters of which you were not aware?

A. I never heard of it.

Q. Do you know that she and Joe Price are now husband and wife?

A. No, I do not.

Q. And that she was married after she was subpoenaed to appear at the closed session of the committee?

A. I do not know anything about that.

Q. Do you know where she is now living?

A. I do not."

### **Lola Whang**

The committee had subpoenaed Miss Whang at a closed hearing in Los Angeles on September 12, 1950. On that occasion she was accompanied by her attorney, Esther Shandler, whose office address is 208 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles. Several weeks before Miss Whang was served with a subpoena to appear and testify before the committee, the committee's counsel, Mr. Combs, got in touch with her by telephone, related some of the circumstances that had led up to the death of young Hudson, and asked her whether or not she would be willing to cooperate by giving the committee the benefit of such information as to his background and activities during the time he was a student at U. C. L. A. as she was able to give. On the telephone Miss Whang informed Mr. Combs that she would be willing to give such cooperation, and a conference was then arranged at her home which was located at 3423 12th Avenue, Los Angeles, California. About a half hour prior to the date fixed for the conference with Miss Whang, Mr. Combs again communicated with her by telephone to be certain that she would be at home, and she informed him that she had been talking to some people who advised her not to say anything until she had communicated with her attorney. Mr. Combs then informed her that she was perfectly free to obtain legal counsel, but that unless he heard from her within a period of a week or 10 days, he would have no other alternative but to serve her with a subpoena and take her testimony under oath. Not having heard from her at all, the subpoena was served and the result was the appearance of Miss Whang with her attorney, Miss Shandler, on the date and occasion above mentioned.

At the outset of her examination Miss Whang testified that she was a student at U. C. L. A. from 1946 to 1950, and that during the period she was attending the university she was residing at 2913 Third Street in Ocean Park, California. She stated that she did not live alone, but

when asked to identify the other individuals with whom she lived she refused to answer the question on the grounds that her answer might incriminate her. She refused to state whether or not she had ever been a member of the Communist Party, refused to state whether or not she had ever been acquainted with Joe Price or any other individuals, including Helen Edelman, and she refused to give any testimony concerning her attendance at a Communist meeting in the City of Los Angeles on the evening of September 27, 1948. On each occasion when the witness refused to answer the questions, she was prompted by her attorney, and her refusal in each and every instance was based on the contention that her answer might tend to submit her to a criminal prosecution. She was asked, among other things, whether or not she had ever taken courses at the University of California in Los Angeles from a number of faculty members, including Prof. Harry Hoiyer, Prof. Leonard Bloom, and Dr. Franklin Fearing, and upon advice of her attorney refused to answer such questions on the ground that her answers might tend to incriminate her—and she refused to state whether or not she had ever met Dr. Fearing, although she did finally say that she had never actually taken a course from him. The net result of the hearing elicited the fact that the witness had lived at the Third Street address with certain other individuals whom she refused to name, that she was a Korean, and that her mother was in Korea at the time the hearing was held. She also testified that she was a teacher, and was employed in a West Hollywood primary school, teaching kindergarten, having been employed the day before the hearing commenced.

The witness corroborated the fact that she did have a telephone conversation with the committee's counsel, and it may be well to repeat that portion of the questions and answers as they appear in the transcript for the purpose of showing that between the time the first conversation was held when Miss Whang signified her complete willingness to confer with the committee's counsel concerning the aspects of the Hudson case, and the time when the conference was actually to be held, something occurred that made her change her mind most definitely, an influence that certainly continued until the time the hearing was held, when she was advised not to answer any questions even concerning individuals with whom she might have been acquainted. The pertinent portion of her testimony in this regard was as follows:

“Q. (By Mr. Combs) Do you recall having a telephone conversation with me?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. In which I asked you if you would be willing to talk to me about the Hudson case?

A. Yes, I remember.

Q. And we arranged a time and place for me to visit with you?

A. Yes.

Q. Which was at your address and the same one that you have given for the record here. And I was to come by there approximately at 6 o'clock in the evening, wasn't that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. And before I came I telephoned to you again on that day, didn't I?

A. Yes, you did.

Q. And you told me on the phone, on that occasion, that you had changed your mind and you would rather not talk to me unless your attorney was present, isn't that true; and I asked you when you had seen Joe Price and you told me over the telephone that you had seen him since I talked to you the first time, isn't that correct?

The Witness: I would like to seek counsel on that.

Miss Shandler: Refuse to answer on the same grounds.

The Witness: On the same grounds, I refuse to answer that.

Mr. Combs: On the grounds that your answer might tend to incriminate you?

The Witness: Yes.

Q. Have you seen Joe Price within the last 10 days?

Miss Shandler: Same objection.

The Witness: I can't answer that, on the same grounds.

Mr. Combs: On the ground that your answer might tend to incriminate you?

The Witness: Tend to incriminate me.

Q. (By Mr. Combs) Isn't it true, of your own knowledge, that Joe Price was a member of the Communist Party at U. C. L. A. and was recently expelled?

Miss Shandler: The same.

The Witness: I cannot answer that, on the same grounds.

Mr. Combs: On the grounds that your answer might tend to incriminate you?

The Witness: Yes.

Mr. Combs: Would you mind stating that each time there is an objection?

Q. Isn't it true that you regularly attended meetings of the Communist Party while you were a student at U. C. L. A. on Friday evenings?

Miss Shandler: The same objection.

The Witness: I will not answer that on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Miss Shandler: And, of course, the further ground that the witness has the right to assemble and associate with whomsoever she pleases.

Mr. Combs: Are you familiar with the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in the Trumbo-Lawson cases?

Miss Shandler: I am.

Mr. Combs: Have you read the decision?

Miss Shandler: No, I haven't got to it yet.

Mr. Combs: It holds just to the contrary, for your information."



During the entire course of her examination, it was quite obvious that the witness would refuse to answer the questions propounded to her concerning her affiliations or her associations or any questions concerning young Hudson or the circumstances immediately preceding his death. As a matter of fact, she refused to state whether or not she had even become acquainted with Everitt Hudson, although she had previously freely admitted to Mr. Combs over the telephone that she knew him quite well, and, as has already been seen, Mr. Hudson, the boy's father, stated that of his own positive knowledge his son was very intimately acquainted both with Lola Whang, Ellen Edelman and Joe Price—concerning whom Miss Whang was questioned at the closed hearing.

Even when the witness was questioned concerning her affiliation with American Youth for Democracy and with Students for Wallace at U. C. L. A., she also refused to give any testimony whatever, and upon advice of its counsel, the committee extended her immunity from prosecution if any of the answers to the questions asked her at the closed hearing would make her subject to prosecution for the commission of a crime, and she still steadfastly followed the advice of her counsel, Miss Esther Shandler. The following question was put to the witness, which pretty well summarized the committee's purpose in calling her before it, but she nevertheless refused to answer it. The question was this:

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): Miss Whang, in the event that I could show you documents written to Everitt Hudson by an admitted member of the Communist Party, in which he was threatened with death, and in the event that I could take you to the parents of Everitt Hudson and they would corroborate that fact and tell you that he had talked with them about being threatened with death and asked that his parents have his body immediately subjected to a post-mortem examination in the event he died in any peculiar manner, would that change your attitude any? Wouldn't you then be willing to cooperate to some extent with this committee?”

A. I refuse to answer that.

Q. On what ground?

A. On the ground that it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Combs: That is all.”

### **Further Testimony of W. A. Hudson**

Mr. William A. Hudson, the boy's father, further testified that his contact with the little group that lived with Miss Whang was purely casual and only through his son's familiarity with them. He was asked the following questions concerning his acquaintance with Helen Edelman, and a line of questions concerning his visit to some of the authorities at U. C. L. A. after his son had enrolled there as a student.

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): Have you had any contact with Helen Edelman at any time since your son's death?”

A. Only at the time she returned the things he had loaned her.

Q. Which was shortly after his death?

A. About six or eight months after.

Q. Now, Mr. Hudson, before the twenty-seventh of September, 1948, did you ever go to any of the administrative or academic people at U. C. L. A. with reference to your son?

A. I went out Thursday or Friday before September 27th and had an interview with Dean Davidson.

Q. What was the purpose of that interview as far as you were concerned?

A. I was trying desperately to determine what kind of place my son was studying at and why—whether it was under the university's supervision, and if they knew what kind of a place it was; and I was assured by Dean Davidson that it was a perfectly legitimate place.

Q. Why were you so concerned, Mr. Hudson?

A. Because of some of the arguments I had had with my son previously about his politics.

Q. Communism, you mean?

A. Not only that, but the Independent Progressive Party in which he was taking an active part.

Q. Do you know whether he was also taking an active part in an organization called Students for Wallace?

A. Yes, he did. He took a very active part.

Q. Were you able to form any opinion of your own as to whether Students for Wallace was a Communist organization?

A. No.

Q. Or whether the Independent Progressive Party was a Communist organization?

A. I had my suspicions, but I didn't know.

Q. You had your suspicions with no proof?

A. No.

Q. And as a result of your son's activity along those lines, and his conversations with you and Mrs. Hudson, those things caused you alarm to such an extent that you went to the university to investigate these conditions yourself?

A. That is correct.

Q. Were you satisfied with the results of the interview?

A. No.

Q. Why not?

A. Because they gave me no information that I could use. I mean there was nothing I could tie to.

Q. Now, Mr. Hudson, did your boy give you any explanation as to why he preferred to live in the student cooperative dormitory near the campus of the university rather than with his parents?

A. Only that there were many of his Army buddies who were attending the university, at Stanford and out at U. C. L. A., that he wanted to be near and have their bull sessions, as he called them."

In response to further questioning by members of the committee, Mr. Hudson amplified his description of the conference with authorities

at U. C. L. A. prior to his boy's death, and described the breach that in some manner or other had been driven between Everitt and his parents.

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mr. Hudson, contemporaneously with your son's return to Southern California from Stanford and his enrollment at U. C. L. A., was it apparent at all to you that the relationship between you and Mrs. Hudson and the boy had been somewhat subverted?

A. Yes, it had been. Just prior to his death I had begged and pleaded with him not to transfer from Stanford to U. C. L. A. He had taken my advice, had sent his tuition—in fact, I sent it myself to Stanford University for his enrollment for the following term. At the last moment, without my knowledge, he enrolled at U. C. L. A. and paid for his term there. Eventually Stanford forwarded the transcript and sent back his enrollment fee from Stanford.

He was very, very undecided as to what to do. He was trying to please me one minute and someone else the next.

Q. You noticed that contemporaneously with the progression of his educational work that the breach between the parents and the boy became wider and wider?

A. The breach didn't become wider, it became more argumentative, but never wider.

Q. More argumentative?

A. Yes.

Senator Watson: I would like to ask one question.

Senator Burns: All right.

Q. (By Senator Watson): When you went to the university to consult with officials there with regard to the conditions, and the condition of your boy, whom did you see there?

A. Dean Davidson.

Q. Dean Davidson?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see anyone else?

A. No. He was the only one at that time. I afterwards did see Dean Hahn.

Q. And you didn't get any satisfaction?

A. No. Only their assurance that the place was a legitimate dormitory. I had begged and pleaded—there was no reason why he had to stay there. I live within four miles of the university. He had a perfectly good home to come to, and I went out to see if there was any possible chance of my having him come and live at his home. I had my suspicions that something was going on.

Q. The dean had no suspicion of those things, or didn't intimate it to you?

A. Oh, he did say that he knew the place was—in fact, he did mention the fact that there was an active group over there, such as this Independent Progressive Wallace group, that were stirring up things around the university grounds, *but there was no harm, or it didn't mean anything.*” (Committee's italics.)

This response by the father of a boy, who was to meet his death within a few days after the conference above-described, is indicative of the extreme danger that a naive and tolerant attitude on the part of administrators at educational institutions toward such Communist-dominated organizations as Students for Wallace will generate. Here was a father, genuinely concerned about his son's rapid conversion to Communism, who went to U. C. L. A. and talked to two deans there, Davidson and Hahn, and they assured him, according to his testimony, that there was an Independent Progressive group and a Wallace group of students at the dormitory where his boy was staying, and that they were stirring up things around the university grounds, but their activities should not be taken too seriously.

Such an attitude on the part of educational administrators is reminiscent of the attitude expressed by the members of the academic senate when they selected Professor Edward C. Tolman as the chairman of their group appointed to oppose the board of regents in the matter of the loyalty oath. There was no effort, apparently, on the part of the academic senate to ascertain just what sort of a record of affiliation with Communist-front organizations Professor Tolman had before they appointed him chairman of their special committee. By the same token, we find the attitude of the administrative heads of the University of California expressed in such matters as the Writers' Congress and the two-day affair on the campus at Berkeley in collaboration with the Communist school in San Francisco, and in the employment of individuals to teach students at the university which individuals were drawn fresh from the ranks of the faculty at the Communist school in Southern California.

This attitude of tolerance toward organizations of this character, and the failure to recognize Communist-sponsored organizations for what they really are, has led the university into positions of extreme vulnerability to plain, matter-of-fact criticism which the university has, of course, brought upon itself. As will be seen in the testimony of Mr. Seigliano in connection with his knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the Hudson boy's death, the Independent Progressive Party, the Progressive Students of America, and Students for Wallace at U. C. L. A. were dominated by the Communist Party lock, stock and barrel. Dean Davidson and Dean Hahn should have been sufficiently informed of those facts to pass them on to Mr. Hudson at the time of their interview with him at the university campus. Every student on the campus who had any knowledge whatever concerning political activities among the student body was well aware of the Communist character of these organizations. Certain members of the U. C. L. A. police department were thoroughly informed as to the Communist nature of these student groups. There must have been some short-circuit between the police department of the university and the deans to whom Mr. Hudson talked in order for the information in the files of the police department to have been insulated away from these educational administrators.

Mr. Hudson went on to explain to the committee that his son left Stanford University and came to U. C. L. A. against the wishes of his



parents, and that although they inquired many times as to his reason for leaving Stanford and coming to U. C. L. A., he never gave them any specific explanation. In this connection Mr. Hudson stated definitely that he knew and felt that his son was holding something back and that his failure to give a rational explanation of his sudden decision to transfer was not a normal thing, and that despite his every effort to receive a logical and satisfactory explanation from the boy, no such explanation was forthcoming.

When asked whether or not he, the father, had ever arrived at any independent conclusion of his own as to his boy's unexpressed reason for coming to U. C. L. A., he replied that he felt his son was *trying to get away from the Communist influences at Stanford, and that he recalled the boy having told his mother that he was indoctrinated with Communism at Stanford.* (Committee's italics.)

It should be pointed out, before leaving the matter of Mr. Hudson's testimony, that he was testifying under oath, and that the committee excused his wife from testifying because of her extreme nervous condition and her emotional state, although she had theretofore expressed a willingness to come before the committee and testify.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Hudson made it crystal clear that his sole purpose in coming forward was a sincere desire to prevent the tragedy that occurred to his family in the death of his boy from occurring to other families who had children attending educational institutions in the State of California.

### **Testimony of Robert G. Scigliano**

Mr. Robert G. Scigliano testified that he lived at 11636 Chenault Street in the City of Los Angeles and was a graduate student of political science at U. C. L. A., having been attending the university since the spring semester of 1948, and having had a casual acquaintance with Everitt Hudson. Scigliano testified that he lived at the same cooperative housing dormitory that Hudson stayed in, but that while Hudson lived in a unit called Landfair, the witness lived in Robinson Hall, another building of the same cooperative enterprise. He stated that on the first occasion when he was contacted by representatives of this committee, which was within a period of a very short time after Hudson's body had been discovered in the basement of the dormitory, that he was somewhat unwilling to cooperate with the committee, and that when he was contacted again about a year thereafter, he was told that the committee was suspicious about the Communist background of Hudson's death, and that he said that he was "unwilling to cooperate with the committee unless he could be convinced that the boy actually had received a threat of death and had expressed a fear of death to his parents." In order to satisfy himself of the seriousness of the case, Scigliano picked up the phone and called Everitt Hudson's father at the suggestion of representatives of this committee, and the father then corroborated the statement that had already been made to the witness to the effect that there was in fact a Communist background in the death.



Mr. Scigliano has since cooperated with the committee in a free and forthright manner and testified on the occasion of the hearing in obedience to a subpoena that was served on him.

Scigliano testified, in effect, that there was a unit of Students for Wallace on the U. C. L. A. campus during the time he was a student there, and his testimony in that regard is of considerable importance in view of the statements that had been made to Mr. Hudson by Dean Hahn and Dean Davidson.

"There was no unit when I first went there. In other words, there wasn't any organization but it was formed shortly after."

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : At U. C. L. A.?

A. Yes..

Q. I believe you knew a man named Joe Price?

A. Yes..

Q. Was he active in Students for Wallace?

A. It is a little difficult to say whether he was active in Students for Wallace, but he was active in the *activities* of Students for Wallace, yes.

Q. Was Joe Price a member of the Communist Party?

A. At that time I did not know, sir.

Q. Did you find out since whether he was or not?

A. Yes, I did find out.

Q. That he was or was not?

A. That he was.

Q. That he was?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, did you know a girl by the name of Lola Whang?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Do you know whether or not she was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I do know.

Q. Was she or was she not?

A. She was.

Q. Did you know a girl by the name of Helen—

A. I should say that I found this out not first-hand.

Q. I understand. As a matter of fact, you got the information from your wife, did you not?

A. That is right, sir.

Q. And Lola Whang told her directly, didn't she?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And I was present when you got the information, wasn't I, at least on one occasion?

A. What do you mean by 'present'?

Q. I mean I was present at the conversation between you and your wife at which this matter was discussed?

A. That is right.

Q. And did you know a girl by the name of Helen Edelman?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Do you know whether or not she was a member of the Communist Party?

A. I believe she was a very openly-avowed member of the Communist Party.

Q. She was a writer for the newspaper at U. C. L. A., wasn't she?

A. Yes, she was.

Q. Now, all of these three people, these three students were attending U. C. L. A. during the same period that you and Everitt Hudson were; isn't that true?

A. Which period do you mean?

Q. Any of the time when you were there?

A. I'm trying to recall. I am quite sure that Everitt Hudson lived at this residence in the summer of 1948, and I rather assume he attended the summer session. If he did, I believe that is correct.

Q. The other three, however, you are sure were there when you were?

A. Miss Edelman I do not know. I do not know whether Miss Edelman attended that summer session or not. I did not know Miss Edelman until the following semester when I first met her. That was the next fall.

Q. I see.

A. I am quite sure Joe Price and Lola Whang were attending the summer session, at least the first summer session.

Q. When you were?

A. Yes.

Q. And you also knew that Helen Edelman was a student at U. C. L. A., didn't you?

A. I imagine I must have heard her name then. I am sure that I did.

Q. All right. Did you ever hear of an organization at U. C. L. A. known as the Mike Quinn Club of the Communist Party?

A. Yes. I remember several times hearing of it just as the Mike Quinn Club.

Q. Do you know whether or not it was a Communist organization?

A. I didn't know that at the time. I knew not long after.

Q. You found it out not long after?

A. I think it was not specifically closed information.

Q. All right. You were a member of the Students for Wallace organization at U. C. L. A., Mr. Seigliano?

A. The spring semester of 1948, yes.

Q. Were the Communists of the unit, that is the students that were members of the Students for Wallace, were they quite active in that organization?

A. Those that were later found out to be, yes.

Q. They were?

A. Yes.

Q. They were the leaders in it, were they?

A. Since I have a very difficult time remembering just who were the leaders and who were not—

Q. I am not asking you for the names. I mean in general?

A. This would be somewhat difficult to say because offhand I couldn't remember all the leaders in it. I know the chairman at the beginning of that semester was not.

Q. Was there an organization out there while you were a student, at any time while you were a student, called the Young Progressives of America?

A. I think the Young Progressives of America was formed after the third Party convention in Philadelphia.

Q. Was the Communist element at U. C. L. A. active in that organization also?

A. Yes.

Q. Outstandingly so?

A. Quite outstandingly so, although not all the members were.

Q. Not all the members of either organization were, but the Communists were particularly active in it?

A. Yes. I think it would be my conclusion that *both organizations were originated by the Communist Party, were dominated by it, and had policies controlled by it.* (Committee's italics.)

Q. I think that answers it perfectly, that these organizations were originated by the Communist Party, were dominated by it, and had policies controlled by it, though many of its members were not also members of the Communist Party.

A. That is correct, sir.

Q. You yourself were never a member of the Communist Party.

A. I am not and never was, sir.

Q. But in your activities with the so-called front organizations, and your interest in political science and so on, and because of your associations with these people who were members of the Communist Party, you gained this information?

A. Yes. I supposedly acquired the information in numerous ways.

Q. Now Mr. Seigliano you say that your acquaintance with Everitt Hudson was somewhat casual, you knew him and spoke to him from time to time but you had no intimate acquaintance with him, did you?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you know that he was interested in Marxism?

A. Yes.

Q. You knew that?

A. Yes. I don't know that I participated in any of the arguments, but I heard discussions. *We all did.* (Committee's italics.)

Q. Who was his closest friend in the cooperative?

A. Well, I was away most of the summer, but from what I could observe and assume, Joe Price was.

Q. And Joe Price, as you have already testified, was a Communist?

A. Yes.

Q. An active Communist?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he also acquainted with Helen Edelman?

A. I think I could say he was.

Q. He was?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he also well acquainted with Lola Whang?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. They knew each other?

A. Very well.

Q. Very well?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did you know a man by the name of Eugene Hammerstein?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, the way I found out about the membership in the Communist Party was when the word came out, at least when we learned, that he was expelled from the Party.

Q. That he was expelled from the Party?

A. At least that is the information we had.

Q. Was Mr. Hudson acquainted with him?

A. I don't know of my own direct knowledge, but I imagine he would be.

Q. But you don't know of your own knowledge?

A. Wait. I am pretty sure.

Q. If you don't know—if you have the impression he was, of course that is not evidence. If you know of your own knowledge, we want that.

A. He must have been because I recall a statement made by Mr. Hammerstein after his death. Again I would have to qualify that, a statement by Mr. Hammerstein that he was sorry, he was intelligent, he would have done great things in a progressive way.

Q. So of course you assumed from that, naturally, he was at least acquainted with him?

A. Yes—if that was Mr. Hammerstein I remember his having made that statement.

Q. All right. Now, on the night of September 27, 1948, at about 1.45, where were you?

A. I was sitting in the Robinson Hall lounge.

Q. In the lounge at Robinson Hall, which is this cooperative dormitory; is that right?

A. That is correct.

Q. Were you alone or was someone else with you?

A. I can't remember. I seem to remember someone having been in a little earlier, I would guess around 12.15, I believe, as I told you. As I recall, they were cooking something in the galley or in the kitchen, and as I recall there was someone else sitting in there and he probably got up and drifted out. That is, there are various members who have a habit of drifting in and out very often.

Q. Now, you did see Everitt Hudson on the evening or early morning of September 28th, of course this would be 1948, at about 1.45 o'clock; isn't that correct?

A. Roughly around that, as I recall.

Q. When he came in, where were you sitting, as you remember it?

A. Well, as I remember, and I perhaps remember because I told you this before, and I hope it hasn't become distorted—?

Q. As a matter of fact, you told me a few days after the death?

A. I thought you came the following spring.

Q. No, a very short time after the death.

A. I thought it was several months, in my mind.

Q. Well, that is immaterial. Go ahead.

A. As I remember, I was sitting on the Ophir side of the lounge.

Q. Ophir is a street?

A. That is where the windows are.

Q. So that would be the north side of the lounge?

A. I think you would call it the west side of the lounge.

Q. All right; then Everitt Hudson came in?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he speak to you?

A. A small—a few words passed between us, yes.

Q. Do you remember the substance of the conversation?

A. I've been trying to think it over.

As I remember it was something to the effect of the I. P. P. supporting Helen Douglas for Congress, as I remember.

Q. That is the Independent Progressive Party, that the Independent Progressive Party was supporting Helen Douglas for Congress?

A. Yes. As I remember, this is what it was.

Q. That is about all that was said?

A. That is all that I can remember, sir.

Q. All right. After that conversation occurred, what if anything did Everitt Hudson do?

A. Now, as I know I explained to you, sir, I had a difficult time recalling some of the sequence. I know my wife and I were talking it over between periods the next day. When I told her the news——

Q. What news?

A. The news of the discovery of Mr. Hudson's body.

Q. Yes.

A. And that she remembers—she believes she remembers of my having told her I saw Hudson playing with a dog, and this statement is one that also appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*.

Q. When did you see him playing with a dog, and where? Earlier?

A. No, I imagine not, sir, but at the time I was sitting in the lounge.

Q. All right. Then did he leave the lounge?

A. Yes, sir. I have a very difficult time remembering when and how he left the lounge. I know that he vacated.



Q. I am trying to fix simply the time element, that is all.

A. Yes.

Q. What I'm trying to get at now, Mr. Scigliano, is how long he was in the lounge to the best of your recollection. Was he in there for an hour or an hour and a half?

A. No. I would just have to give a guess.

Q. That's all right.

A. Then I would try to give a guess of about 10 or 15 minutes, but I am not sure of the time.

Q. I understand, but it was a matter of a few minutes.

A. It seems to me it wasn't too long, but again, sir, it is very difficult to recollect.

Q. Let's see if we can't fix a minimum and a maximum limit. He was there at least five minutes, wasn't he?

A. I would say he was.

Q. And not more than a half hour?

A. I would say about that.

Q. Did you ever see him again?

A. The next time I saw him, sir, was the following day.

Q. That was when the body was discovered?

A. That is right, sir."

Mr. Scigliano went on to describe the basement in which the body of young Hudson was discovered at about 10.30 a.m. on the morning of September 28, 1948. This basement, which was built to accommodate two large gas furnaces and an incinerator, was situated immediately adjacent to the lounge which Mr. Scigliano has already described. Access to the basement could only be obtained by going down a few steps from the outside of the building, that is, Robinson Hall, and by walking past a row of windows on the west side of the room which Mr. Scigliano had described as the lounge in which he was seated when Everitt Hudson came in.

The floor and walls of the basement room were of rough concrete, and immediately on the right of the door as one entered the basement room was a toggle switch which operated the overhead electric light fixture. Farther on, and on the right hand side of the room as one entered was a pit also made of rough concrete which was about 12 feet long, five feet wide and four and a half feet deep. Against the rear wall of this pit, side by side, were two gas heating furnaces made of galvanized iron. In front of the furnaces and the front wall of the pit was a space of about four and a half feet, and there was also a space of about four and a half feet between the ends of the furnaces and the ends of the pit. The body of the Hudson boy was found in the pit, curled around the corner of one of the galvanized iron furnaces.

On the left of the door immediately upon entering the furnace room was a wooden bench, and folded neatly across a small portable gas heater (which was unconnected) young Hudson's neatly folded sweater was found. At the time his body was discovered the overhead light was not

on, the gas which fed the furnaces and incinerator was turned off, so that there was no possibility of death by asphyxiation, and the furnace room door was standing open. There were no signs of a struggle of any sort. There was no blood in evidence, and the entire furnace room and everything in it was covered with a thick layer of dust, so that any struggle would have left traces that would have been immediately evident. It was noted, as will be seen later, that there was a streak in the dust along the vertical end of one of the furnaces commencing at a position about eight inches below the top of the furnace and going straight down vertically to a point where the boy's forehead lay against the side of the furnace. There the streak in the dust on the side of the furnace stopped, and the boy's forehead was found covered with dust. It will be seen later, although the fact should also be mentioned here, that photographs of the basement room were taken shortly after the boy's body was found. And it is a good thing that photographs were taken so early, because a few days thereafter and immediately following the launching of an investigation into the background and circumstances of the death, the entire basement premises was flooded with water to an extent that the furnace pit was filled, the floor of the basement room was covered, and all physical evidences that might have been valuable in investigating the circumstances of the death were completely obliterated. The committee learned that the flooding of the premises was not due to any accident, but that a pet-cock was left open and that was the cause for this flooding of the basement—a circumstance that had never before occurred in the entire history of the dormitory.

At the time the body was discovered, rigor mortis was complete, which indicated that death occurred some time around 2.30 a.m. on the morning of September 28, 1950.

Shortly after the body had been taken to a mortuary in Santa Monica, representatives of this committee were contacted by friends of the boy's family, and a meeting was arranged between committee representatives and Mr. William A. Hudson. At that time arrangements were made to turn over all of the letters, documents, books and other papers found in the boy's possession to the committee for analysis, and it was decided that a post-mortem should be performed in the Los Angeles County Coroner's Office—a preliminary post-mortem having already been performed at the mortuary by Dr. Irving Madoff, Deputy Autopsy Surgeon for the Los Angeles County Coroner's Office.

Accordingly, the body was taken in for examination, and the actual post-mortem was performed by Dr. Frederick Newbarr, who has been Chief Autopsy Surgeon for the Los Angeles County Coroner since July of 1946, who had seven years' experience as medical examiner for the Wayne County Coroner's Office in Detroit, Michigan, and who is the head of the Department of Forensic Medicine at the University of Southern California. It may be stated parenthetically at this point that Doctor Newbarr is a recognized and eminent authority in his field, and that his examination of the body of Everitt Hudson was performed with

full knowledge of the subversive background that has already been described.

### **Testimony of Dr. Frederick Newbarr**

When Doctor Newbarr was called before the committee to testify as an expert, he stated that the body was brought in to him for examination on September 30, 1948, and that the autopsy was performed by him the following morning. That he made an exhaustive and complete detailed examination for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of death, and not only made a gross study of the organs and the abdomen but microscopic and toxicological studies as well. He testified that there was no evidence of death from natural causes, that there were no broken bones, that there was no evidence of death by violence, nothing to indicate trauma of a sufficient nature as to have caused death, that the very complete toxicological examination disclosed that death was not caused by poison, and that death was not due to suicide. At that point the examination of Doctor Newbarr should be repeated verbatim, because it does establish, definitely, in the opinion of the Chief Autopsy Surgeon in the Los Angeles County Coroner's Office, that young Hudson was murdered.

“Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Now, Doctor Newbarr, it is a fact medically, isn't it, that death can only be produced from four basic causes: natural causes, accidental causes, suicide, and homicide?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is true, is it not?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. And as a result of your extensive post-mortem examination, you testify that death was not due to natural causes?

A. That is correct.

Q. Or suicide?

A. No, sir, not suicide.

Q. Nor accidental causes?

A. We have no evidence to show that it was from accidental causes.

Q. Now, doctor, in order to get this in the record, when I came to you shortly after the body had been brought in for examination, I told you that there was evidence, at least some indication, of a Communist background to the case, did I not?

A. You did.

Q. And I requested that your office cooperate with our committee and with the police and with other official agencies, to the end that the thing could be explored and investigated in the proper atmosphere, did I not?

A. Yes you did.

Q. And for that reason no inquest was held and you did not disclose any of your findings to any unofficial agency, is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. And that was done at our suggestion?

A. Yes sir.”

Doctor Newbarr was then asked a hypothetical question, which led up to his conclusion as to the exact medical cause of death, and while

Doctor Newbarr did testify that in his opinion death could have been caused by inhibition, at this point the reader is cautioned to examine this portion of Doctor Newbarr's testimony with meticulous care, since it does reveal the actual cause of death to be something which, in his opinion, was *not* entirely psychological, but which required *some* sort of deliberate physical contact for the purpose of producing actual death. It will also become apparent that as a result of a conference between the committee's counsel, Doctor Newbarr, and representatives of the Los Angeles Police Department's homicide bureau, it was agreed that the exact technique by which death was produced in this case should never be made public, for obvious reasons. The hypothetical question which was asked Doctor Newbarr was:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, Doctor Newbarr, I want to ask you a hypothetical question, the facts of which will be amply supported by documentary evidence which we expect to introduce this morning. Assume that the decedent in this case received his first Marxian indoctrination at a high school; that thereafter he attended a university where the documents show that the intensification of his indoctrination was accelerated; that in one of the letters he wrote to his parents he expressed an apprehension of death in some peculiar manner, and requested that his body be promptly sent, in the event of his death, for a post-mortem examination or to a medical school; that thereafter he received a warning in a letter from a person whose Communist connections we will place in evidence; that on the night of the twenty-seventh of September, 1948, the decedent did attend a Communist Party meeting which was addressed by a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. Assume further that the decedent had been politically developed with unusual rapidity by Party contacts, apparently for the reason that he was unusually proficient in languages—speaking Japanese, Russian, some Chinese, Spanish, some French and I believe some Italian, but I am not sure about that; that he had attended the Military Intelligence Language School at Monterey, California; that after he returned from the meeting on the night of September 27, 1948, in company with three other persons whose names will be identified later, that he went back to the U. C. L. A. dormitory and did not return to the place in which he lived, to that building, but he went to the building in which his body was found at 10.30 the following morning.

Would that add anything to your conclusion, by process of elimination, that his death was caused from homicide?

A. It would definitely add to the conclusion that here is an individual who is under extreme emotional tension, and death from inhibition is likely in individuals who are suffering from intense emotional tension.

Q. Is it your conclusion that death may have been caused by inhibition?

A. It is my opinion that it could well have been. However, in our office death by inhibition is not recognized as a cause of death because *there are no demonstrable changes in any of the organs of the body.* In



this case, the pulmonary edema was definitely present. Its cause was undetermined. The cause of death, pulmonary edema, is not an unusual one. However, it is always qualified. In other words, it is pulmonary edema due to circulatory failure or other conditions which we were unable to demonstrate in this case.

Q. In other words, as I understand your testimony, doctor, in cases in this general category where death occurs quickly or suddenly it is quite common to find pulmonary edema, is it not?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And pulmonary edema in lay language simply means the presence of fluid in the lungs?

A. That is correct.

Q. So the question in this case, then, is what caused the pulmonary edema?

A. That is correct.

Q. And by the process of elimination you have eliminated the three basic causes of death: natural and suicide and accidental causes—which of course leaves only one?

A. That is correct.

Q. And in your opinion that was due to some sort of an inhibition. Will you explain what inhibition means?

A. Death by inhibition is the depressing effect of certain stimulus or stimuli which affect the central nervous system and the action of the heart and the respiratory mechanism immediately ceases. It is a functional change. There may be some chemical changes. There is a great deal of research going on at present more definitely establishing death by inhibition as a cause of death. At the present time death by inhibition is really the one exclusion in history. In other words, we have nothing showing here. Here is a perfectly normal boy in every respect. The injuries which I have charted are all very minor.

Q. Would you describe them for the record, please?

A. The following minor external marks were noted: there are three superficial abrasions of the skin on the right abdomen and upper thigh, more or less linear in outline, and involving the skin only. No vital structures are involved. There is an abrasion of the skin of the right forearm at the elbow joint. This abrasion is surrounded by an area of reddish-purple discoloration, which measures  $1\frac{3}{4}$  by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Above and below this area there is a zone of reddish-purple discoloration. Those were essentially the only injuries which were noted.

Q. Now, Doctor Newbarr, were those in the nature of minor bruises and scratches?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now I show you again this picture of the place where the body was found, concerning which there will be testimony later, and I call your attention particularly to this pit, which is a rough concrete pit, and I ask you in your opinion as an exponent of forensic medicine, and based



on your experience as chief autopsy surgeon, and of course your knowledge of the facts of this case, whether those superficial bruises and scratches could have been caused by lowering the body into this pit?

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. Now, doctor, do you recall the last occasion when you and I had a conference about this case?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just a few days ago, wasn't it?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And while I was in your office talking about the case with you, there were some members from the Los Angeles Police Department Homicide Squad present, were there not?

A. There were.

Q. And you were discussing, among other things, the technique connected with death by inhibition, *by which death could be produced not by psychological factors alone but by physical—a combination of psychological and physical factors*. Do you recall that?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you expressed that in your opinion, from your view, *that was the more likely answer to this homicide?* (Committee's italics.)

A. That there hasn't been left any other possibility, no evidence in the skin, in the blood, tissues, or in any organs of the body, yes.

Q. And in your opinion you said you thought that was probably the way death was caused?

A. It could well have happened that way, yes.

Q. And we discussed the technique in considerable detail, that is you did, and it was agreed, at the suggestion of the members of the homicide squad that it would not be wise to publicize that particular technique?

A. *That is correct.*

Q. *And that is your view also?*

A. Yes, sir.

Q. *The reason, of course, is obvious, that a great many maladjusted people would take advantage of it.*

A. *That is right.*

Q. *It is a little-known technique, isn't it?*

A. Yes, sir. (Committee's italics.)

Q. I just want to ask you one more question, doctor. It is a kind of an afterthought, with respect to this photograph. I will ask you to assume, which is a fact, and it will be established by the next witness, that the body was discovered originally with the head opposite this lower portion of the gas furnace which shows on the right of the picture; that the back and legs were extended along the bottom of this rough concrete enclosure, and down inside on the floor of the pit, which was also concrete; that on the side of the furnace against which the head was resting there was a mark in the dust beginning at a point about eight inches from the top of the furnace and extending down vertically to the point at the

bottom of the furnace where the head rested. Now, would a lowering of the body in that manner into that pit be sufficient to cause the superficial scratches and bruises that you discovered on the body?

A. Yes, sir."

### **Documentary Evidence**

In order to arrive at a proper evaluation of the Hudson case, and the events leading to the death of Everitt Hudson, it is first necessary to arrange all of his letters—both those he wrote and those he received—together with all the other documentary material found in his possession in chronological sequence, and then to study carefully each separate document in turn, and if this is done the grim, poignant story of his indoctrination, commencing at the University High School in West Los Angeles, continuing through the period that he attended Stanford University, and ending with his further indoctrination and death at U. C. L. A., is unfolded.

A list of library withdrawal slips for books from the Stanford library indicates the type of Communist and Soviet literature in which the boy was primarily interested, and a list of the bound volumes and other material found in his possession at the time of his death indicates that here was no rank and file member of the Communist Party, but on the contrary an individual who, despite his youth, had been developed to a very high degree in his Communist indoctrination and education, because the Party wished to take advantage of his extraordinary linguistic ability.

Considering these documents, it is necessary that the critical material from each be quoted and analyzed. This has been done by the committee through its staff, and also by Mr. Mini and Mr. Hanman, whose testimony and opinions will be introduced later in considerable detail.

Photostatic copies of all of these pertinent documents were made within a short time after the boy's death, and copies of all pertinent documents and written material were introduced as exhibits on the occasion of the public hearing in Los Angeles on December 14 and 15, 1950.

Having analyzed and explored all of the possibilities inherent in the Hudson case, the purpose of the committee was then to use this material as a base for analyzing the four other cases that will be mentioned in this section of the report. Then it could be shown conclusively that the same insidious technique of driving an ever-widening breach between the young individual and the parents was used in every case; recruiting techniques that did not vary one iota in each of these five cases. It should be added that the committee in its 12 years of existence has determined that the same general recruiting techniques are used in every instance by the Communist Party on young people, and particularly on students.

It will be recalled that after Everitt had graduated from University High School, where the slanted character of some of his instruction had started him on his path to Marxian indoctrination, he entered the University of Stanford for a brief period and then was inducted into the Army. At Fort Knox, Kentucky, he wrote a letter to his parents in June

of 1946, and in this five-page hand-written letter the boy tells them that he finds himself intellectually isolated in the Army, which is extremely distasteful to him. The effects of his early Marxist reading become apparent when he declares that social and political conditions exert a profound influence on individuals, and he quotes Marx: "It is not men's business to interpret history, but to change it," and he adds, "I don't want to wave Russia in your face, but it is a fact that there is a virtue in an attempt that fails." He then pessimistically says that America is shot through with "fear, distrust and hate." The confused gloomy thinking expressed in this letter shows that somewhere in the picture there has been planted in the boy's mind the idea that other countries, particularly Russia and some of the Scandinavian countries where cooperative movements have gained considerable prominence, are far more socially advanced than our own Country; and he reveals a strong tendency to highlight and emphasize the seamy side of American life and to gloss over the defects of such countries as the Soviet Union. This trend of thinking is brought out much stronger in subsequent letters and in the type of books the boy gradually became accustomed to read.

Elsewhere in this same letter he says: "I think we are on the way to a limited dictatorship. We do not have the background of cooperation. We don't even respect diverse cultures and religions. Unless there is something dormant within the average American citizen—and I pray there is—we're in for a bad time. I want democracy and freedom as well as anyone else, but not at the expense of defeat by another nation. That's all that prevented me from staying out of the Army, and you will never know just how much I wanted to stay out." He continues: "What can we expect in the United States? The head of the Australian government says a labor dictatorship for a short while. My professors at Stanford fear the same thing. Things are getting worse, not better. And the disillusionment that followed victory had its effect, too. The whole Nation can be paralyzed by the miners, and even you will admit they have much justification."

The next letter is dated November 13, 1947, by Everitt to his father after the boy had returned to resume his studies at the university shortly after he was discharged from the Army. In this letter, written almost a year and a half after the one mentioned above, the boy mentions some of the things at Stanford that he finds unpleasant. He complains about lack of academic freedom and declares that: "We are having speakers sanctioned by the trustees that advocate war with Russia now. Speakers with other views are not allowed on the campus. This is an extreme case, but indicative of the state we're in." He also expressed great impatience with the mass attitude of the student body, saying: "but the thing that hurts most is the spirit of the student body. Again, it is something you have to be in contact with to understand."

The concluding portion of this letter emphasizes with tragic impact the result of more indoctrination at Stanford and increased confusion and frustration. He says: "I really like to make you and mother happy and live up to what you want me to be; in doing this, or in doing things

that you don't do makes me uncomfortable as hell. I'm told that's very normal. But here's the problem. I want to live and am living a very different life than you would have wished for me or considered as desirable. For this reason I am very uncomfortable at home for a long period of time. You know how sour I got this summer. Again, I am told this takes place in most families. But still I think bringing the problem out in the open may help you understand me. It's just that I'm groping for a new way of doing things to try and live comfortably in these changed conditions, but the home-way to which my conscience is tied keeps bothering me. This makes it hard for both of us. I make you unhappy and myself at the same time.

"Well, you ask, if it is not doing things our way that bothers you, why don't you change, get rid of some of these radical ideas on politics, etc.? Well, that is something I just cannot do without becoming a wrung-out rag. Life just wouldn't be worth living without that freedom."

The boy closes this pathetic letter by saying: "I'd really hate like hell to be in your shoes. I wouldn't want a problem like me on my hands."

The next letter is undated and was written by Everitt from Stanford to his father and apparently was intended to inform his father of a change in academic plans. Everitt says he has decided to give up his pre-legal course and to study the Russian language and social sciences. He describes his new faculty advisor with considerable enthusiasm as follows: "My new guide is young—about 30, and saw service during the war with Yugoslav Partisans along with being contact man for the State Department. Right now he's assistant professor of history here." He adds: "The one thing that seems bright in my future—imminent, I mean—is the necessity of my taking Russian." It will be noted that the decision to study Russian and the advent of the new faculty advisor were coincidental. It should also be noted, as will be more readily apparent later, that Everitt was constantly being placed in contact with individuals who were pro-Communist or pro-Soviet in their views.

The next letter is dated February 13, 1948, which was on a Friday, and was written by the boy to his parents. The body of this highly significant letter states, among other things, that Everitt was planning to go horseback riding over the week-end. Otherwise, the body of the letter is non-committal and unimportant. It was not, however, mailed on the Friday on which it was written because, on the succeeding Monday he added this cryptic postscript: "Monday evening: Had a lot of fun riding Saturday and am a bit sore from it. Here's something I want you to take note of. *If I should die in any manner please give my body promptly to one of the college medical schools. This isn't the product of being depressed today. It's just something I want done in case anything should happen.*" (Committee's italics.)

The next letter, which is dated March 18, 1948, was written by a Virginia Davis who lived at 520 Salvatierra Street, Stanford University. It is reproduced here for the purpose of indicating the type of contact



quickly being established between young Hudson and Communist-dominated organizations of the most pronounced character. This particular letter reminded him that Anna Louise Strong would speak on "Russia and World Peace," in San Francisco under the auspices of the *American-Russian Institute* on Tuesday, March 30, 1948, the writer offered to provide tickets, and she closed her letter as follows: "Mr. Kerner, our organizational director, has told me you might be interested in joining the institute. I would be happy to answer any questions you may have about it. Sincerely, Virginia Davis, for the American-Russian Institute." It should be stated parenthetically at this point that the *American-Russian Institute* in San Francisco has been listed not only by this committee but also by the United States Department of Justice as a Communist-front organization of the highest order.

Helen Hudson, Everitt's mother, having noted with natural and growing alarm her son's apparent conversion to Communism while at Stanford, consulted an attorney friend of hers in Beverly Hills, who was an alumnus of Stanford University. On April 11, 1948, he wrote a letter to her suggesting that she in turn write to Dr. Daniel S. Jacobson at the university. In her letter to Doctor Jacobson, dated April 14th, Mrs. Hudson expressed at some length her concern about her son's indoctrination with Communism at Stanford, and on April 22, 1948, Doctor Jacobson wrote a letter to her in which he suggested an interview with Professor Vucinich, the faculty advisor, and says about him: "He carried on liaison work between the Russians and the Bulgarian forces in Bulgaria in 1944 and 1945."

On or about the twenty-third day of May, 1948, Mrs. Hudson wrote directly to Mr. Vucinich, and the sole reason for this letter, which was perfectly plain from its contents, was the concern of a mother about her son and his growing devotion to Communism and the fact that when he had been home for the Easter vacation he had read nothing but "Stalin and Marx to the exclusion of all else."

On May 27, 1948, Mr. Vucinich wrote a letter to Mrs. Hudson. Despite the fact that Mrs. Hudson's letter pathetically expressed such concern over the grip Communism had obtained on her son, Vucinich ignored that phase of the problem and concluded his rather noncommittal letter by saying: "This summer he plans to take an intensive course in the Russian language at the University of California. I think his desire to study Russian is worthwhile in view of the increasing importance of that language in the field of psychology. Since this is my first quarter as your son's advisor, I am not yet well acquainted with him and his work. However, he impresses me as a serious and intelligent young man. Sincerely yours, Wayne S. Vucinich, Asst. Professor."

Next is a letter dated June 29, 1948, from an Andrew Syka at Stanford to Everitt. This letter addresses Everitt as "Kamenev," which will be explained later, and the letter begins by saying: "This is the old married man sending you a little Party communique to let you know I still count you in the Syka-axis." The remainder of the letter is concerned with the struggle between Tito and the Cominform, which latter



organization is the international body representing world Communism. Syka again wrote to Everitt on August 21, 1948, and it should be explained at this point that by now Everitt had transferred to U. C. L. A., and had commenced his studies at the latter university in the summer of 1948. This letter, which was also addressed to "Kameney" states that the writer, Andrew Syka, and his wife were recently entertained at dinner by Golos Mann, the son of Thomas Mann, the novelist, who told them much of interest concerning the Russian zone in Germany, the Berlin situation, and about general conditions in Europe. A previous letter from Syka had disclosed that in August, 1948, Syka and his wife entertained Golos Mann and a Colonel Faymonville at a dinner of "pirogis and borscht and vodka."

The next letter is dated August 31, 1948, and was written by an Indian graduate student at Stanford named Bipan Chandra, with whom young Hudson had roomed while at Stanford. This highly important document would probably mean little taken by itself, or if read by a person without any knowledge whatever of Communism. Taken, however, in connection with the other documents and circumstances of this case, it plays an enormously vital part and has a significant meaning to anyone trained in the investigation of Communist activities. The writer, a native of India, and a person whose complete devotion to Communism has been well established from independent sources, stated, in part, the following:

"From a typical liberal in 1947, November, you have become something quite different.

"I hope everything you are thinking and doing you are doing on a solid basis. Young people like you and me have a tendency to think with our hearts too much. You should give full consideration to everything. You know me and know I am not one of those to say 'wait until you are older,' but I will advise to do anything but do it after full consideration. Many idealists, nonthinking individuals end up like Miss Bentley. I would never, never want anything like that to happen to you or me. I am very proud of your picketing and have been bragging about it to every common friend.

"Don't underestimate your difficulties and hardships, but for God's sake don't overestimate them, either. Those who overestimate always become cowards and betrayers in the long run.

"If you don't want to go to Stanford at all, well, I will advise you to go to Cal. But please don't stay at U. C. L. A. You know why I am saying so."

The next letter is dated September 10, 1948, a letter from Everitt to Bipan Chandra, and the significance of this letter is to show through the hand of a boy who was killed a short time after he wrote the document the accurate extent of the infiltration of Communism at U. C. L. A. It reads in part as follows:

"U. C. L. A. has many disadvantages but what it does have is an alert, critical, active and progressive student body. *In every class I'm*

*in there are critical Marxists, constantly trying to weed out the idealistic garbage.*

*"The Mike Quinn Club, here on the campus, is one of the most intelligent, active Communist groups in the west. Although membership is secret, it appears to be considerable."* (Committee's italics.)

Next is an undated letter written about September 20, 1948, from Everitt to Andrew Syka at Stanford. This is the letter Mr. Hudson testified was in the boy's typewriter at the time of his death. Once again Everitt expresses his pleasure at the extent of Communist infiltration in the U. C. L. A. student body. He says:

*"But one of the biggest attractions, to my mind, is that here in U. C. L. A., in almost every class, there are Communists who are highly motivated to purge any metaphysical rubbish out of a course. There is an atmosphere of extremely critical appraisal of everything that is being offered."* (Committee's italics.)

Among the other documentary material found in the dead boy's effects were 26 withdrawal slips from the Stanford University library, all dealing with Marxism, Communism or the Soviet Union, and in his personal effects were found a great many bound volumes, pamphlets, magazines and other material—all of a Communist nature, and all of which would indicate that Everitt Hudson was not a rank and file member of the Communist Party, but a highly developed Communist who was operating on a much higher level.

It should be made clear, at this point, that the testimony of Mr. Hudson established without any question the fact that his son Everitt received his Communist indoctrination at Stanford University. In addition, shortly before his death, someone telephoned the Hudson residence when Everitt happened to be present and asked for the boy, but as soon as he came to the telephone and answered the person on the other end of the line hung up the receiver. On that occasion Everitt told his mother, under considerable emotional strain, that somebody was checking up on him and he thought that it might possibly be the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Returning now to that phase of the hearing where significant contents of the documents mentioned and the sequence of events must be considered together, the following summary was placed on the record by Mr. Combs.

### **Summary by R. E. Combs**

"In the first place the letter of February 13, 1948, is of particular interest because of the hand-written postscript added two days later, as an afterthought. The boy did not use the kind of language which would ordinarily have been employed by a young man in excellent health who suddenly discovered that he had some ailment such as a heart condition, or who had developed a morbid fear of death from some accidental cause such as an automobile accident. It was, on the contrary, abnormal language induced by abnormal circumstances. It is quite likely that something happened over the weekend that prompted the addition of this

peculiar afterthought to an otherwise normal letter. It is very clear that Everitt had suddenly become apprehensive of death under peculiar circumstances—precisely the sort of death that did occur nine months later.

“While considering the meaning of this cryptic postscript, the Bipan Chandra letter must also be examined. The reference therein to overestimating one’s difficulties apparently alludes to young Party members who have been rapidly advanced because of some extraordinary aptitude, such as linguistic ability, and are operating in a new realm of conspiracy and secrecy. Chandra is apparently warning young Hudson—as one who is now operating in such a realm, not to magnify his hardships and difficulties, because that would tend to scare him into becoming a coward and betrayer of Party secrets like Miss Elizabeth Bentley, who had testified concerning her Soviet spy activities in Washington, D. C. If Everitt and Chandra were not in a similar position to become unduly frightened and thereby betray critical Party information, why should this emphatic warning have been given? By the same token, what was meant by insisting that Everitt should either attend Stanford or Berkeley, but to get away from U. C. L. A. immediately and at all costs? If the reason were a normal one, Chandra would have mentioned it by way of explanation instead of saying mysteriously ‘you know why I am saying so.’

“It will be noted that the Mike Quinn Club, referred to by Hudson, did not have its headquarters at U. C. L. A. or in Westwood Village where the University of California in Los Angeles is located, but rather at 124 West Sixth Street in Los Angeles, which is the address of the headquarters of the Communist Party in that county. This was made clear by a pamphlet issued by the Mike Quinn Club, introduced into evidence, and which gave the address of the organization as the same address occupied by the headquarters of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County.

“Mr. Kerner, of the American-Russian Institute, who was inviting Everitt to join the organization, and whose secretary sent the boy tickets to the Anna Louise Strong Lecture, was teaching a course at the California Labor School during the winter term of 1949; a course entitled ‘The Soviet,’ and another course entitled ‘China and the Far East.’ And at the same time Mr. Kerner was teaching in the school, Bipan Chandra was also teaching a course there on ‘India’ under the direction of Dr. Holland Roberts, the Director of the California Labor School, and a former Stanford professor. This is, of course, the same Communist school that held its two-day affair on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley in conjunction with the university and which has been listed by the United States Department of Justice as a Communist-controlled organization.

“It is known that on the night of September 27, 1948, Joe Price, Lola Whang and Helen Edelman—all Communists, accompanied young Hudson to a Party meeting in Los Angeles which was addressed by a member

of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. The four returned to Santa Monica in young Hudson's car and reached that city by 11.45 in the evening, since Hudson went through a boulevard stop sign and received a police traffic ticket with the time noted thereon. He was observed entering the student lounge in the cooperative at 1.45 the following morning, as was testified to by Robert Seigliano. Nothing is known of his movements from that time until his body was found at approximately 10.30 the same morning in the basement of the dormitory building where the lounge was located, it being borne in mind that young Hudson had his quarters in another dormitory building across the street.

"It appears that the logical conclusions that must be drawn from the foregoing facts and documentary evidence are quite obvious. From the documentary evidence and from what the boy told his own parents we know that he was indoctrinated with Communism to a high degree. We know that he was ambitious to enter the service of the State Department, and had developed a peculiar ability to master a variety of languages. As a matter of fact, he had gone to the Department of Employment office in Southern California and applied for work as a translator, as shown by the application slip which was placed in evidence at the committee hearing. We know that he was developed with unusual rapidity in his Communist reading and activity—with far greater activity than the average embryonic Communist Party member of the same age, who is ordinarily required to spend a great deal of time in what is known as 'beginners' classes' and preliminary reading. By the time young Hudson had returned from Stanford to Beverly Hills he had accumulated a library that could have been the envy of most any high-ranking Communist Party functionary in the Country. His sudden apprehension about a peculiar death and his desire to have a post-mortem held on his body is quite clear from the letter of February 13, 1948. Within a short time before his death he was warned not to behave in such a manner that would cause him to betray secrets like Miss Bentley. He did die in a peculiar manner and an autopsy was performed pursuant to his wishes and no exact cause or motive for his death is apparent. Doctor Newbarr testified, in effect, that he was murdered. It should be added at this point that there is some evidence, as will become clear from the testimony of one of the experts later on, that young Hudson had given cause for an apprehension concerning his loyalty to the Communist cause, and his actions had indicated that he might be getting ready to disclose what he knew about Party activities.

"For the first time, through documents written by a person who was not only a student at U. C. L. A., but closely identified with well-known members of the Communist Party leadership there, we are able to arrive at a clear estimation of the infiltration on the U. C. L. A. campus. As young Hudson put it when he wrote the letter a few days before his death, *there were Communists in every class.*



“An examination of the academic records of some of young Hudson’s companions indicates that all of them were interested to some extent in the Soviet Union and Communism. For example, the record of Bipan Chandra, who registered at Stanford University in 1946, shows that he took First Year Russian, Second Year Russian, Scientific Russian, International Organization, Soviet Planning, the History of Russia and two seminars on Russia. Andrew Syka, among other courses, took Soviet Law and Planning, Agriculture and the Soviet Union, Government of the Soviet Union, History of the Soviet Union, and similar courses, together with the Russian language, the Spanish language, and Naval Science.

“The academic record of the decedent, Everitt Hudson, shows that his courses in Soviet Law and Planning and his courses in history and economics as well as in the various languages, manifest a deep interest on the part of the boy to advance himself very rapidly in the Communist Party to a position of eminence.”

### **Expert Testimony—Norman Mini**

The first of the two expert witnesses called in connection with the Hudson case at the Los Angeles hearing was Mr. Norman Mini. He joined the Communist Party in Sacramento in December of 1932, having gone into the organization of his own volition after having done considerable reading along Marxist lines and having come in contact with the Party a short time before he actually became a member. Soon after he had affiliated, he was quite active in the work of the Party during the early portion of 1933, most of his activities taking place among the unemployed—demonstrations, picnics, organizing the unemployed and working in the agricultural unions. In 1933 and 1934 there was a large agricultural union in the San Joaquin Valley called the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, and Mr. Mini was extremely active in organizing the farm workers in that union which was Communist-controlled by a strong Party faction buried deep in the heart of the otherwise non-Communist organization. It was not long before the union was Communist infiltrated and heavily Communized from top to bottom.

At the time of Mr. Mini’s activities in this union of agricultural workers he was in close contact with such prominent individuals in the Party as Caroline Decker, Pat Chambers, and Lillian Monroe. He testified that Lillian Decker later married Richard Gladstein, the San Francisco attorney of the firm of Gladstein, Anderson, Resner, and Sawyer, and whom Mr. Mini identified as Party members—*all of them*.

Mini taught in a Communist Party school, and was sufficiently versed in Marxian economics and revolutionary journalism to teach courses in each of those two subjects, although his specialty in the Party was largely in theoretical matters and in the development of Party leaders. Before he left the Communist organization he had devoted virtually all of his time to the recruiting and developing of leadership



for the Party. Among other individuals who were recruited by him was Professor Paul Radin, the brother of the late Max Radin, Professor of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley. After having recruited Dr. Radin into the Party, the professor was developed for leadership and although he was anxious to come out in the open as a Communist the Party would not stand for such a thing and instructed him very pointedly and emphatically to keep under cover and never to disclose his Party affiliation. Mini went on to explain, in the course of his being qualified as an expert, there were Party leaders like the official Party leaders in California, but behind them there are other people who have a higher degree of authority but who remain in the background and who are so prominent that their identity as Party members is never revealed. Dr. Radin was the sort of a person who was encouraged to go out and take a leading part in society, and in general to build himself up as an authority in his field, as well as to qualify himself as an advocate of liberal principles and a supporter of all liberal causes while holding his Party membership strictly secret. The type is not uncommon.

In response to a question that sought to draw from Mini an explanation of what kind of people the Party sought for leaders, he answered:

"Well, it was fairly common for us to try to search through the Party and discover people who had been recruited on the basis of a little bit more of an intellectual level; the main object was to find thinking people. They mainly came from the students, of course, because they in general were the only people who were interested in the bigger questions involved, of economics, philosophy, and of political science. So that where it was fairly easy to find active people for the Party, it was very difficult to find people who could be developed as individuals who would be capable of taking over the government, which is another matter altogether, and more and more Party work had to be carried on among students and intellectuals, you might say; people who could read and study and understand these things and also in the higher organizations of controlled trade unions, or any of these front organizations, there was a constant search carried on for people who were, as I have said, capable of going into the higher aspects of Party work."

Mr. Mini was eventually arrested for conspiracy to commit criminal syndicalism, convicted, sentenced to San Quentin, and spent one year in the penitentiary and 16 months on parole before his sentence of conviction was reversed by the appellate court.

Parenthetically, it is interesting to know that while in San Quentin Mini helped recruit J. B. McNamara into the Communist Party, and that Mr. McNamara was the head of a Communist cell in San Quentin penitentiary of from 30 to 50 individuals. Mr. McNamara was the individual convicted of dynamiting the Los Angeles Times building.

There was also a large underground library of Communist Party literature—75 or 80 books, which were kept going around like a circulating library among those convicts who were interested in Communism and Marxian reading. Mini testified that none of this literature was ever

discovered by the guards as long as he was an inmate of the penitentiary. He left the Communist Party voluntarily in 1941, but since that time he has maintained certain Party contacts and has kept himself generally well informed concerning Party activities.

When the two experts, Mr. Mini and Mr. Hanman, came to Los Angeles a few days ahead of the time the hearing was opened, they painstakingly analyzed all of the documentary evidence that was to be used in the hearing and Mr. Mini was asked to give his opinion as an expert and a former Party member whose specialty had been developing the young party leaders like Hudson. In that connection he testified that the Fort Knox letter that was written by young Hudson in June, 1946, was "in the first phase of his development as a Communist." Mini continued with his analysis by testifying: "Here is a young person that has become a Marxist; I mean it is obvious that he is a Marxist, by the way he quotes from Marx, but it is obvious that he is not much a Marxist, because he hasn't really gotten into his theory yet, because of the very nature of the things he quotes, sort of like catch words and things that people just pick up like a slogan, you might say.

"And another thing I would say that would tend to qualify this letter as the product of a person who was still in the preliminary stages of becoming a Marxist is the fact that he does a lot of talking about politics to people who ordinarily would not count. In other words, he is naive enough, in the commonest sense, to think that he can win his father and mother over to a Marxist position, and he is trying very hard to do that in this letter.

"Now, you notice in the later letters he doesn't make any attempt to do that anymore. He has realized, or there has been pointed out to him, that you just don't go out and waste your forces on people who obviously can't be turned into Communists. In other words, you have to channelize your activities and find the most important point of entry.

"But, in this letter, he is mainly concerned with trying to propagandize his parents, trying to win them over, which I would say, from my own experience and the experience of a great many young people that I have known, that almost always the first persons they try to win over—being closer to their father and mother, etc. It is natural to think that they see the light and it is natural to think that anybody they are close to can be easily made to see the same thing, so they go into a long story like this five-page letter to try to prove to their parents that Communism is right.

"And it is obvious in the letter, too, that the boy has more or less put himself into a category of leadership. He is talking down, in a sense, to his parents, from the standpoint of a person who has suddenly got the key to everything, knows everything, knows all about politics, and he is explaining to them, in a very careful way, what is to him a very logical way, what the politics of the world are all about. And I think that more than anything else is a reflection of a certain naivete, because the more a person knows about politics, the less he tries to explain it.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Would you consider, from the contents and tenor of this letter, that this boy would be potential material for leadership in the Party?

A. Oh, yes, certainly. I mean he is obviously a boy who is studying and reading and trying to make his way through the complexities of politics, and particularly of international politics. Now, the one person you wouldn't try to influence politically would be somebody who was interested in local politics or state politics. They are the worst enemies of the Communist approach, because they get all bogged down in local and state matters, and so on, which are very trivial transitional matters.

Q. To the Communist, of course, to the broad international aspects of politics, that is basic?

A. That is right. A person who had then become interested in the international situation and the big clash of forces in the world is the person that is the potential leading individual in the Communist Party.

Q. Alright. Now, let us take the letter of November 13, 1947, which I hand you. This is the letter, Mr. Mini, in which the boy discusses some new type of life, a letter to his father, and which is the one that closes with the somewhat pathetic statement, "I'd really hate like hell to be in your shoes. I wouldn't want a problem like me on my hands!" Do you remember that letter?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you state, after you glance over it, what conclusions you draw from the contents of that letter?

A. Well, in this letter I would say that Everitt has already reached the point in the movement where he is considering changing his own life very drastically.

Q. Now what do you base that conclusion on?

A. Well, almost everything in the letter indicates that he is changing his views about the nature of the life that he has intended to lead. Now, up to this point there is no indication that he had ever considered changing his ideas of a career for himself. I mean in the first letter there is no implication of that, but in this letter almost everything attacked in the letter and talked about is in the nature of an attempt, in his own mind, to set up the possibility of a different kind of a career for himself.

Q. This is the letter in which he says there is a lack of academic freedom at Stanford and they are having speakers sanctioned by the trustees that advocate war with Russia. "Speakers with other views are not allowed on the campus." That he wants to make his mother and father happy, but he is living a different kind of life from the one they would wish for him, and in which he says, speaking to his parents, "Well, you asked, if it is not in doing things our way that bothers you, why don't you change, get rid of some of these radical ideas on politics?" And he says, "Well, that's just something I cannot do without becoming a wrung-out rag," and so on.

A. Well, that to me indicates that he is considering some change, now, in his life. What it seems to indicate to me is that he is getting this

idea of leadership in the Communist movement into his mind; in other words, whereas before maybe he just saw himself going ahead and getting an education and having a career in the State Department, now he has some sort of idea of doing something that will take him completely out of the ordinary course of things and even to the point where he would not be supporting his family. In other words, lots of things come into his mind regarding what he would have to do with his new life, in his new career, that he is considering that would be in sharp contrast to having a thought in the past about what you should do when you grow up, such as helping your parents and supporting a family and all those things go by the board when a person begins to get the idea that he might be a leader in the Communist movement. And it seems to me, at this particular point, young Hudson is thinking of doing something like that. He doesn't come right out and say so, but at least a possibility of that change into a different sphere of activity altogether is in his mind and is becoming a very unsettled factor to him, and also a very stimulating one, incidentally.

Q. All right now, let us take the next letter, which is the one in which he mentions his decision to abandon his pre-legal course and describes his faculty advisor with considerable enthusiasm and says that "The one thing which seems bright in my future—imminent, I mean—is the necessity of my taking Russian." Do you remember that letter?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you discuss that, please?

A. It seems to me at this point Everitt, in his development, has reached the point where he has come into contact, somehow or other, with more important people in the Communist movement. I think that up until this point, whatever contact he had with Communists, they were certainly just run of the mill Communists—probably what we used to call the professional students who go to school for interminable lengths of time and are able to carry on activities on the campuses during these periods. But then, somehow or other, now this boy has come in contact—he has met this man, who he says was with the Yugoslav partisans and the contact man for the State Department and obviously this—what is his name?

Mr. Combs: Vucinich.

A. Vucinich is a person completely out of the ordinary run of individuals that Hudson has met in the radical movement before, and that in a way he is kind of dizzy. He has met this man who is on a much higher level and the man has evidently given him to understand that he can play a very important role in the whole movement, it seems to me. And it is a very common thing; as I have described before this happened to me and to quite a few other people that I have known in the Communist movement. That they go along sort of on the level of the ordinary Party member, and the ordinary active people and the functionaries in the movement, generally speaking, are pretty dreary individuals; they spend their whole lives putting out leaflets and carrying on meetings and doing all sorts of spade work for the Party, and, generally speaking, the more exceptional individual, the potential leader who comes into the Party in



very short order, gets tired of that constant activity, which is not particularly intellectually stimulating after the first phase of it, and he has a tendency to drop out unless something else of an extraordinary nature happens. Well, in this case it is obvious that it happened to Everitt, that he has met this man who has been in all of the most dramatic parts of the war, and that this man has opened up some kind of perspective for him that he never had before. I know myself, when I met Gregory Silvermaster, from things that he told me I never then had any more idea of becoming just a Party functionary. I mean that was just sort of the rank and file of the Party to carry that type of work on; that the upper crust in the Party had a different sort of life and they actually do lead a different sort of life. In my contacts with a man like Silvermaster, I discovered that the whole upper crust, so to speak, of the Communist movement consisted of a few wealthy and influential people who lived in nice houses and ate good meals and had good drinks and in general lived much more like civilized people; whereas, the rank and file Party member and the rank and file functionary live a pretty dreary, drab sort of life. But once a young person gets taken up in one way or another into this sort of a higher sphere of Party activity, then, of course, it is very flattering, and it is very easy for a person to be influenced by people who have international reputations.

Q. For example, a student from India like Bipan Chandra——

A. Yes.

Q. Would that tend to accelerate his interest in taking an active part?

A. Well, certainly. I mean that you meet people who have traveled, who know all about the world, and you also meet foreigners—and particularly for Americans foreigners have more effect on Americans as they can always appear as authorities, whereas Americans, it is well known, 'don't know anything at all.' Particularly in colleges, academic schools, anybody who is of foreign extraction and education is always considered to be a much greater authority than an American with the same amount of education.

Q. All right. Let us go back. Let us go to the next important document. First, at this point I want to ask you this question: Did you, during the time you were active in the Party, Mr. Mini, ever find any rank and file Party member who did not operate in the so-called upper level, as you have put it, did you ever find any rank and file Party member who in order to follow his Marxist theories found it necessary to study the Russian language?

A. No, never.

Q. A student's decision to master the Russian language that is, by a student who is progressively being developed along Marxist lines, as was testified to yesterday, what would that signify to you?

A. Well, the decision to study Russian seems to me could only indicate that this man, Vucinich, who influenced Hudson so much, had some specific mission in mind for Hudson. I mean, after all, Russian is a pretty limited sort of thing and it certainly is not of any terrific value to know



Russian, from an intellectual standpoint, I would say, that so far as research is concerned the knowledge of Russian is not terrifically important. But in this letter it is made almost the essential thing. I mean here, for some reason or other, the idea of studying Russian becomes of terrific importance.

Q. Then, it is contemporaneous with his decision to abandon his pre-legal course entirely?

A. That is right.

Q. As expressed in the preceding letter and also contemporaneous with his new faculty advisor, Mr. Vucinich, isn't that true?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, the next letter is the one dated Friday, February 13, 1948, and the one that has the postscript: "Here's something I want you to take note of. If I should die in any manner, please give my body promptly to one of the college medical schools." You remember that letter?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you discuss that, please?

A. Well, I would say here that this is one of the key points in the development of this case. Obviously, from the time that this proposition to study Russian was made to Everitt and the time that he writes this letter and adds the postscript, it seems to me perfectly obvious that a more concrete proposal has been made to him, apparently in the course of this horseback ride.

Q. You have in mind that this letter was written on a Friday?

A. That is right.

Q. And the postscript was dated when? Isn't it dated there?

A. Monday evening.

Q. The letter is dated Friday, February 13th, and the postscript was written Monday evening.

A. Yes. And it seems obvious from the body of the letter there is no indication that there has been any change in his general ideas of that period, but in the postscript something has happened very obviously, that he suddenly—he has been going on a one more or less optimistic perspective; you note the most optimistic one being just before this letter in which apparently some proposal has been made to him, just generally, which involves a study of Russian, and next a more concrete proposal which has given him some sort of an inner qualm, some fear has developed here, that I don't think you can just pass it off as being the morbid fears which young intellectuals notoriously have. You know, it is quite a common thing in that period of a young man's life to have sort of a morbid idea about death. But actually this doesn't seem to be anything of that nature, to me, particularly about taking the body "promptly." In other words, something has been said to him that has given him, in this case, a kind of a premonition of his end, but at least has stirred him up to the depths and he makes this proposal that his body be taken to one of the medical schools and he says, "This isn't the product of being depressed today," which would indicate that he is subject to these intellectual hot and cold periods, but that he thinks something might happen. In other

words, it seems to me, from analyzing and considering his case of development for Communist leadership that something has been proposed to him, probably during that horseback ride, that is not only of a more concrete nature but something very specific has been proposed that has frightened him at the same time, which he is considerably excited about, and I think this is actually the essential point in the whole case, as I see it; that this boy was brought along and he was taken up into the higher spheres of the Party and introduced to all of the bigwigs and fellow travelers and carried on quite an exciting intellectual life.

Q. You have in mind at this point, do you, the fact that he was in contact with organizations like the *American-Russian Institute* and persons like William Kerner and Bipan Chandra?

A. Yes.

Q. And those people whose records were mentioned yesterday?

A. Yes.

Q. Bipan Chandra and Kerner both being teachers in the Communist school in San Francisco?

A. That is right.

Q. As well as Mr. Vucinich, who was acting not only between the Yugoslav and Soviet armies, but also in Bulgaria between the Bulgarian and Soviet armies, as shown by the letter from Dr. Jacobsen?

A. That is right.

Q. All right.

A. And I would say that this proposal that is made to him was a sort of fatal step of his life. Whatever it was, we can only conjecture as to what it was, but it certainly not only frightened him but it didn't go down with him, I mean he did not like it. I mean it was something in complete contradiction to everything he had been thinking about himself in relation to the Communist movement.

Q. Would this also be true, Mr. Mini, that if he had no contact with Marxism or Communism and nothing distasteful had been told him, and if it were true that he was merely apprehensive that he might die of a heart attack, wouldn't he have had enough consideration for his parents, normally, not to want to give them cause for worry?

A. That is correct.

Q. And tell them that he feared he might be killed from occupational or accidental causes, but that if your conclusions are correct, that he had this premonition of death, after a side talk, unless there was something mysterious and apprehensive about it, he wouldn't have frightened his parents by using that peculiar language, but would have used an explanation with it? Is that a correct analysis?

A. I would think so. It seems to have been just stuck into the letter, I mean there is no real explanation of it in any way. It seems to have been added, almost like one might have been seeing too many 'B' movies or something, you know, and he just jotted that down.

Q. All right. Now, there is a series of letters written by Andrew Syka to Everitt, in which he addresses Everitt as Kamenев. Do you remember that?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was Kamenev?

A. Well, L. B. Kamenev was one of the original leaders of the Russian Communist movement. He was probably the greatest friend of Lenin, and certainly the closest associate of Lenin from the standpoint of time in the development of the Communist Party.

Q. He was one of the old Bolsheviks, wasn't he?

A. Yes, he was the oldest of the old, in fact, and not only that but he was related to Lenin by marriage. And the name Kamenev stood in the history of the Russian revolution up to a certain point as almost like John Adams in relation to George Washington in the founding of the states; I mean to say Lenin, Kamenev, and so on, even more so than a man like Trotsky, who was a sort of an individualistic person in the Russian revolution, and who did not have the revolutionary genealogy that a man like Kamenev had.

Q. But Kamenev was shot and killed later on in the Moscow purge trials?

A. That is right. Later on this man was tried in the Moscow trials and because he was one of the *first* men shot his name became synonymous with the ideas of treason and——

Q. Betrayal of the Party?

A. And betrayal of the Party, in the Soviet Union, and also linked with the so-called Marxist scholars, of course, in the Communist Party.

Q. Everyplace in the world?

A. Everyplace, the name of Kamenev is known as a traitor in Communist circles.

Q. Yes.

A. I mean a man who has betrayed the most sacred thing, which is the Party, and I would say very, very definitely that nobody in the Communist Party would possibly use such an expression in jest. I have seen people who have had almost nervous breakdowns if you called them Zinoviev or Kamenev.

Q. By the same token, a person who would know Marxist doctrines would never use the word Kamenev or Zinoviev?

A. No. I would have never used them, then.

Q. On the other hand, the symbolic use of the word Kamenev would not be known to a non-Communist, would it?

A. That is right. And it is fairly common in cases where people have taken steps that are disapproved by the Party, it is rather common to refer to them as a Zinoviev or a Kamenev.

Q. Now, are you familiar with the series of letters which Mrs. Hudson wrote concerning her son's conversion to Communism?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember the sequence, Mr. Mini, of the letters where she first went to the attorney in Beverly Hills, Mr. Erb, who was a Stanford graduate?

A. Yes.

Q. And asked his advice?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he told her to write to Doctor Jacobsen at Stanford, which she did, and Doctor Jacobsen in turn asked her to contact Vucinich. Do you remember that?

A. Yes.

Q. And that in her letter to Vucinich, Mrs. Hudson literally poured her heart out on paper, expressing her concern about her son's conversion to Communism and stated that when he was home for the Easter vacation he read nothing but 'Stalin and Marx to the exclusion of all else.' Of course you read that letter?

A. Yes.

Q. Carefully?

A. Yes.

Q. I hand you, now, this letter which is a reply from Wayne S. Vucinich to Mrs. Hudson, dated May 27, 1948, and ask you what conclusions you would draw from that?

A. Well, from this it is obvious that Vucinich certainly isn't trying to reassure Mrs. Hudson, which would be the most obvious thing to do; I mean the human thing to do; that with what was happening he would have to write a friendly letter and say, well, the boy was a very intelligent boy, and so forth and so on, which he obviously was, but this person seems to be, more than anything else, in this letter, trying to cover himself up; in other words to kind of go on record that he didn't have anything to do with him, and in that connection it is well to note that this is a very typical Communist stunt. That whenever, from the letter apparently Vucinich draws the conclusion, very rightly so, that he is being attacked as trying to influence this boy into Communism, well, he says, his implication is that he doesn't even know the boy and that he only knows him as a student in classes; and if you study the history, the record of accusations against people particularly in the academic world, who are accused of Communism (I think you gentlemen know this very well yourself), almost always the answer to it is that it is all a lie, in other words you say they were in San Francisco at a certain time and they say they never were in San Francisco, never lived in San Francisco, and that the whole thing is a complete fabric of lies and falsifications and outrageous frameups and of course that doesn't enter into this letter, but the sense of the thing is there, that he is really defending himself against all possible contingencies.

Q. Is there anything in the letter at all about the boy's Marxist inclinations, anything at all?

A. No.

Q. Not a word about it?

A. He just completely ignores that.

Q. And I would like to have you consider that in the light of the language used by Mrs. Hudson in which she says for example, 'In behalf of my son, Everitt Hudson, whose latest advisor he so enthusiastically wrote you to be, I am writing you very confidentially in the

hope that you may be of help regarding him,' and so on. Then she speaks of his activities and his reading of Stalin and Marx. She says she realizes the necessity of studying Communism, Marxism and so on, but she says, 'We feel he is not getting both sides, and have become fearful of perhaps some undue influence,' and so on, and it speaks about his linguistic ability, and the entire tenor of the three-page letter is along that line.

Is there one word in the Vucinich reply which is a reassurance to to Mrs. Hudson about the things she is so concerned about?

A. Well, the only thing I could see here is that he says, 'It appears that he is doing much better this quarter.' In other words, from this letter on the surface I would gather that Everitt was a kind of a dope in college, you know, he was having a little trouble with his grades, and so on, and then the professor is telling her, well, he will get by, you know, he will be all right.

Q. But an evasion of any effort to reassure her about the only thing with which she is concerned?

A. Yes. Of course, he does let slip the fact that apparently part of the proposal of Everitt was the study of Russian at the University of California.

Q. What does he say about it?

A. He says, 'This summer he plans to take an intensive course in Russian language in the University of California.' So that was evidently a part of whatever he intended to go to the University of California for, which he never did, incidentally.

Q. Now, we come to the letter from Bipan Chandra, and we went over that at great length, didn't we?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. It is a handwritten letter and part of it is almost illegible, because the ink is blurred somewhat, but it is decipherable and I have a copy of it here. I would like to have you discuss that at some length, Mr. Mini, if you will. Incidentally, and before you go any further, there is a name in that letter that nobody that I have ever shown it to could make out, and I have shown it to a great many people and we have examined it under a magnifying glass, there was only one name that we were never able to make anything out of, except in a general way, and that is in connection with the document that is mentioned by Bipan Chandra. It looks like Fuchlik, doesn't it? Do you remember that?

A. Yes. It is Fuchik, Fuchik.

Q. Well, all right.

A. Well, this is another key point in the development of this case, probably the most important letter of all, I would say.

Q. I think at this point it would be well for me to read the entire letter into the record, which has not yet been done. We have read excerpts from it.

'Box 2335 Stanford. 31st August, 1948. My dear EV,

'I hope you didn't mind my not replying to your letters for such a long time. You know I am a very busy fellow. However, your two----



letter came near the exams, and I had been studying very hard last quarter. Well, I haven't done so well in them.

'I was very glad to receive both of your letters. It is so good to find out you have been making so big a progress. From a typical liberal in 1947 (Nov.) you have become something very different. I was always telling you that action is a better teacher than anything else & that theory and action are inseparable'—What kind of language is that, Mr. Mini?

A. Well, that is almost a direct paraphrase of one of the most famous statements by Stalin. It is a very common phrase.

Q. Commonly known?

A. A Communist phrase in the Communist Party.

Q. Action and theory. 'Action is a better teacher than anything else & that theory and action are inseparable and either one suffers from the absence of the other.'

'I hope everything you are thinking and doing you are doing on a solid basis. Young people like you and me have a tendency to think with our heart too much. You should give full consideration to everything. You know me and you know that I am not one of those who say 'Wait until you are older,' etc., but I will advise to do anything but do it after full consideration. Many idealists, nonthinking individualists end up like Miss Bentley. I would never, never want anything like that to happen to you or me.'

'I am very proud of your picketing & have been bragging about it to every common friend.'

Q. What is the significance of common friend, every common friend?

A. Well, he undoubtedly is referring to the circle that Everitt moved in at Stanford.

Q. With Chandra?

A. Yes.

Q. 'I am also glad you are doing lots of reading. I also read Julian Fuchik and consider it a remarkable document. Now that many intellectualists are recanting, without actually having gone into the fight, you should realize how necessary it is for all of us to steel ourselves—What is the significance of that phrase, 'steel ourselves?'

A. Well, in another very common Communist expression, that they are always talking about 'steeling the Party' against the attacks of reaction, and so forth and so on. It is a thing that would never be used by just an intellectual fellow traveler.

Q. No. Nor even a close Communist sympathizer?

A. It indicates that the group of people at Stanford are preparing themselves for some terrific impact, a smack.

Q. 'How necessary it is for all of us to steel ourselves like our friend Fuchik. But as you would see, it is only those who have never fought, only given vent to politicking by words but are leaving the fight. Many more are going to do so. Actual fight is always tough & one should realize it, but, it is only cowards who think it is very tough. They make

a Frankenstein monster out of it & then retreat little realizing that the actual fight may have been easier than the retreat. Yes Ev, this in my opinion is the crucial view-point in any issue. Don't underestimate your difficulties and hardships, but for God's sake don't overestimate them, either. Those who underestimate are fools, *those who overestimate always become cowards and betrayers in the long run*. One should be wise, brave and honest. (Committee's Italics)

'It is not clear from your letter where you are going to school in Autumn. I will advise you to stick to Stanford. I believe in action, but going to school however futile it may look, is a very good action too. Moreover after November some of their fever is going to be down. No Ev, think time & again. If you don't want to go to Stanford at all, well, I will advise you to go to Cal. But please don't stay at UCLA. *You know why I am saying so*. (Committee's Italics)

'Also, let me advise you to patch up things with your parents. I am sure you can make them understand, maybe after a hard effort, that you love them very much as parents, but, that your politics and life are your own. You must find a *modus vivendi* especially for your parents have only one child in you. Tell me whether I could be of any help.

'We three are thinking of visiting L. A., what do you think? When are you going to be there and what do you think of our idea? When should we come?

'Here is another important matter. Frieda may go visit her parents on 11th or 12th of Sept. She is going to come back on 17th or 16th. I wonder whether you are going to come back by that date. If you happen to be coming up at the same time, it would be nice if you could give her a ride back.' With closing lines, and 'Yours brotherly, Bipan.' What do you think of that letter?

A. Well, it is obvious, in the meantime, I mean since the last letters, in this letter, that Hudson has left Stanford and has informed the circle that he was moving in that he was considering or he had taken a decision not to come back, and all the way through this letter there are references to the fact that this action on his own, Hudson's part, is some sort of a cowardly action, some sort of a betrayal that you could not explain, I don't think, on the basis of any objectionable circumstances in this boy's life; in other words, he was not a boy that had to worry about money or any trouble like that. But here, this thing is put in terms almost of a life and death matter; I mean all these hardships and 'cowardice,' and even if we grant that intellectualists sometimes tend to over-exaggerate these problems—at the same time there is so much here that indicates that in spite of the friendly tone of the letter pressure is being put upon the boy to get him to go back to Stanford, for some reason or other, which never actually appears. And if, as I said, some sort of a proposal had been made to Hudson in connection with some secret work in connection with Party activities and, if, as I said, he was shocked and somewhat disturbed by this action, why, this is an attempt to more or less force him back into line as they say. In other words, it is obvious from the whole

tone of the letter and the quotations (some were veiled quotations from Stalin), that these things are methods of more or less browbeating people into line.

When a person is a Communist, the worst thing that can be said, the most effective thing that can be said against them is that they are not following the Party, I mean they are not following the directives that have been laid down for them, and regardless of what they do they can't really satisfy anybody in the Party—the Party leadership, unless they follow these directives. Now, it is obvious, from this letter, that this business about the picketing that has already come out—I think we are familiar with what happened here—that because Hudson had come to U. C. L. A. and he had started a different life at U. C. L. A. than he had at Stanford, in other words, this Indian is accusing him (Hudson) of being a coward and a false betrayer and an 'Elizabeth Bentley' and so forth and so on. The boy was actually in U. C. L. A. carrying on a very active Communist life. In other words, nobody could come up to him and point the finger at him and say 'you are not a good Communist,' because so far as we can make out, while he was at Stanford he wasn't doing anything at all in that sense—he wasn't on any picket lines, he wasn't going to any meetings, he wasn't carrying on in the sense an active Communist would carry on, but he comes down here to U. C. L. A. and he immediately becomes an active Comrade; he is on the picket lines, he is going to meetings, etc. Now, from the outside, even from the standpoint of a rank and file member, or somebody down low in the Party, this would seem that he had arrived—I mean here is a Party bourgeois intellectual who has taken his rightful place in the world Communist movement and he is active, he is doing the correct thing. But, for some reason or other, these people in Stanford are highly concerned over this, and not only that he is told 'don't stay at U. C. L. A. under any circumstances,' I mean as though this was a dangerous place, that the alternative was going to school at Berkeley or Stanford, 'but for God's sake don't stay at U. C. L. A.,' in spite of the fact that he was carrying on as a good Communist should.

And there are other things here, that indicate to me that Hudson was in a Party group at Stanford, although he never was actively engaged. Like this document here, of course, would be important in the case if we could find out who this Julius Fuchik is, and it is obvious from the letter that it is what the Communists call some sort of internal document, in other words, it is a document that is put out at various times, it is in mimeographed form, and at certain times, particularly in periods of a critical time in the Party, these documents will be put out and are usually written by somebody who is a high Communist; you know, well known, whose stature as a Communist is above reproach and they will put out some kind of a document in relation to the critical period.

Now, here in 1948, of course, was a period in which a great many of these who were what we used to call the imperial Communists, were abandoning Communism, particularly people who were in important positions. And you note that he mentions Elizabeth Bentley. Well, a person wouldn't go around calling somebody in the Communist Party an Elizabeth Bentley, without taking the chance of getting a bust in the nose, it seems to me. It is just that sort of thing. And it is obvious from this letter that this Chandra is actually putting every pressure he can upon young Hudson to get him to come back to Stanford and get him to carry on with this course that has already been laid out for him in spite of the fact that he is acting like a good Communist and he has come down and enrolled at the semi-working class college, as he called it in one of his letters, and in general carrying on to the satisfaction, one would think, of almost any Communist from just the standpoint of observation.

Now, I think there is another thing that is worth mentioning—not so much in connection with this letter, but in connection with the fact that Hudson did come to U. C. L. A. and engage in Communist activities, and that is almost in the classic tradition of reactions to such proposals, that when a person who considers himself a good Communist and considers that he is one of the coming leaders of the Communist movement does something where he is accused of deviation or refusing to obey discipline or to carry out the Party directives, his instinctive reaction is to prove to the Party people that although he really doesn't want to go along and accept what they have set out for him to do, is to try to prove to the Party people that even though he isn't doing what he is supposed to do, he is still a good Communist and he engages in all these activities in order to prove to himself that he is a good Communist.

Q. Such as picketing, etc.?

A. Yes.

Q. And affiliation with members of the Mike Quinn Club?

A. That is right.

Q. And going to meetings?

A. I know in my own case, whenever the question of opposition to the Party came up, and I think any intelligent Communist is almost always the same, your action is almost always in the direction of becoming more active and showing, proving to everybody that you are a good Communist, really. There are also other things not in this letter, but which come out to show that Hudson when he came to U. C. L. A. made references to the fact that he was now in this new environment and he was going to get himself a real education in the Marxian sense and not go on——

Mr. Combs: Well, now——

The Witness: Does that come in later?

Mr. Combs: No. But I just wanted to tie it down to a specific source at this point, because otherwise there is nothing we can tie it to. You

refer to the letter in which he says something about the extent of infiltration of Communism. That is the letter he writes to Bipan Chandra in reply to the one that you have there:

'The Mike Quinn Club, here on campus, is, on the whole, one of the most intelligent, active Communist groups in the West. Although membership is secret, it appears to be considerable.

'U. C. L. A. offers in addition to a fine natural science department, courses in anthropology, and so on.'

Then, in the letter to Andrew Syka he says:

'But one of the biggest attractions to my mind is that here in U. C. L. A. in almost every class there are Communists who are highly motivated to purge any metaphysical rubbish out of a course.'

Are those the letters you referred to, specifically, that language?

A. Not exactly. There are some parts in some of those letters where he refers to getting a solid foundation in science.

Q. I see.

A. In other words, at U. C. L. A. he is to give up the thought about going into the State Department and all this bourgeois education and get himself a real genuine Marxist scientific education which, incidentally, is a very, very practical reaction amongst leading Communists, when they are accused of deviation from the Party policy they never understand exactly inside themselves why they are wrong, they think they are right so they turn around and they are willing to go into it and study and find out why they are wrong or why they are right.

Q. Well, Mr. Mini, I want to make one point clear, if I can, about the typical language in which letters of this character, all of them, are written from one Communist to another. Now, isn't it true, that never in letters between members of the Communist Party do they come out and call a Communist a Communist and say, 'You have got to get back here. In other words, if you don't come back to Stanford you'll be disciplined,' or something of that kind; and on the other hand, don't they veil that in evasive and elusive language so in the event the letter is read by the layman it will appear to be quite innocuous and somewhat confusing?

A. That is right, except the point where you say the letter would be read by a layman. They are not interested in that. Most Communists, of course, are convinced and taught that there is a possibility that everything sent through mails is going to be read by the F. B. I. or some other organization. In other words, the ordinary person trusts the post office, but the Communists don't trust the post office. They often go to great lengths to prove that their letters are being tampered with and opened and read, and it is quite natural for anyone with a viewpoint like that—they wouldn't be naive enough to sit down and write out these things directly in their letters. All of their correspondence has to be carried on in a kind of veiled, euphemistic sort of language.

Q. These letters are typical of the use of that language?



A. I would say so. They feel confident in mentioning certain names and things like that that there is no danger directly in that, but they never would come out and use the words 'the Party.'

Q. Yes.

A. And I feel, however, there are indications that this man Syka was not a Party member just because he used the words 'Party member.' I mean that it is almost inconceivable that a Party member would talk about the Party in a letter, that is just a dead giveaway.

Q. Is there anything else noted in that letter that seems important to you?

A. Not that I can think of at the moment."

After having analyzed several of the other documents that had been introduced into evidence Mr. Mini was asked to give his opinion as an expert and an ex-member of the Communist Party whose specialty had been the development and training of leaders in the Communist movement to express his general conclusions and he did so as follows:

"Particularly from my study of the facts in the case and the documents, from what I know of the Communist movement and of its theory and of its method of operation, there seems to be here a rather clear cut case in which this Everitt Hudson was taken into the Communist movement at Stanford and introduced into it on a rather high level. In other words, he was material for rather big things, and no ordinary rank and file member or reporter of the *Daily World* or anything like that; he was going to be one of the big, secret operators in the Communist movement.

"Now Hudson was obviously, like most people who are potential leaders, and I think he would have been a potential leader in any group. I mean he was not just necessarily a Communist leader, but a boy like that was a potential leader in any social group; his ideas and ideals were, even on the basis of reading Communist theory, against what was proposed to him, and when this proposal was made it shocked him to the point where he defied the Party directives to the point of leaving Stanford, incidentally, without making it clear just what was his determination. He never broke with them. He just left Stanford.

Q. And refused to tell his parents the reason and did so against their wishes?

A. That is right.

Q. As his father testified?

A. That is right, even despite the fact his parents wanted him to return to Stanford. I mean the pressure was on him in both ways, but in spite of that he came to U. C. L. A. where he became a very active Communist and with the possibility here—and I think the people and possibly the Communists at U. C. L. A. had no knowledge of this—that he had been in the Communist school at Stanford, I think that is fairly obvious, and because there is no indication that pressure was put on him from the U. C. L. A. campus side, he was just taken into the Mike Quinn Club activities on a rather high level; but nothing of the same level that he was on at Stanford, but since some important proposal was made to

him at Stanford and coming at this present time in 1948 when these revelations about Communist espionage were first coming out——

Q. Like the Bentley case?

A. Like the Bentley case, which was the most important one, and that apparently it was considered very dangerous for a boy like Hudson to be left around, and in spite of the fact that he was a loyal Communist and was working as a loyal Communist, somehow or other he had some information or was in some position so that he just had to be eliminated. That is the only way that you can possibly, in my mind, interpret this case.

Q. If he had been a member, we will say, of a gambling syndicate or bookmaking enterprise, or something of that sort, and had received similar veiled threats and letters and had been developed similarly and become apprehensive of death in a peculiar manner and had requested that his body be promptly sent to a medical school for examination, and he did not explain what his apprehensions were and he did die in a peculiar manner and his body was examined and the examining physician testified categorically that it was a homicide, what would be your conclusion in those circumstances?

A. I think I and everybody else, informed persons, would automatically assume that the man had been murdered by his gangster comrades. But, in this case, since the Communist Party is a much broader organization than any criminal organization, any gang organization in that sense, that although the inference is just as clear, most people would hesitate to draw that inference, but I think the analogy is just the same; and if it had been obvious that he had been working with a criminal organization and that he had gone on the outside of their plans and had been murdered, the inference is clear. Everybody knows what it is. But the same thing can happen in a case like this where a man in a Communist organization can be murdered for refusal to carry out orders, and hardly anybody knows about it. Which I think is one of the most tragic things that we can face today."

In order to further establish through this witness the type of leadership for which young Hudson was being trained, Mr. Mini was questioned concerning the type of literature that was found in the possession of the dead boy shortly after the discovery of his body. Questions and answer were as follows:

"Q. Mr. Mini, I want to get into the transcript your interpretation as an expert, as a teacher in the Communist Party school and as a person whose specialty it was in the Party to develop Party members for leadership, your interpretation of the various documents and books which were found in the possession of Everitt Hudson at the time of his death. A list of materials that were found, in addition to the ones that have already been handed to you for examination, are as follows:

*A Guide to the Soviet Union*, by William Mandel

*Lenin*, Volumes I and II, by V. I. Lenin

*Karl Marx Selected Works*, Volume II, by V. Adoratsky, published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow

*The Anti-Duhring Revolution*, by Frederick Engels  
*The Russian Zone of Germany*, by Gordon Shaffer  
*Selected Writings*, by Joseph Stalin  
*Theory of Capitalist Development*, by Paul M. Sweezy  
*Frederick Engels*, by Gustave Mayer  
*Modern Russian, Self-Taught*, by Iberria and Orloff  
*Science in the Development of Capitalism*, by Morris Dobb  
*Soviet Russia Since the War*, by Dr. Hewlett Johnson  
*The Centenary of Marxism*, by Samuel Bernstein  
*Science and Society, a Marxian quarterly*, four copies  
*The Secret of Soviet Strength*, by Dr. Hewlett Johnson  
*Elementary Russian Reader*, by George Z. Patrick  
*Political Economy and Capitalism*, by Morris Dobb  
*Thomas Paine*, by James S. Allen  
*The New Europe*, by William Z. Foster  
*Spoken Russian—War Department Manual*, U. S. Army  
*American Unitarian Church*, 35 assorted leaflets  
*Text of Speeches by J. V. Stalin*, by Theodore Parker  
*The Soviet Union Today, Third Edition*, American-Russian Institute  
*Soviet Russia Today*, a magazine, 10 copies  
 Forty-seven miscellaneous books, leaflets, booklets, pamphlets, and  
 assorted papers dealing with Communism and Marxism.

A. Well, all these books on this reading list are a part of a Party school reading list from all I can make out—at least nine of them are standard classics of Marxist theory, you might say, and the others are books that anyone who is interested in Communist theory would be apt to be reading.

Q. Taking them altogether, are they the type of material that would be interesting to a rank and file member of the Party? Or to a person who is just being developed for Party leadership?

A. No. I would say not; that is certainly a little higher. As a matter of fact, most rank and file members of the Party don't read anything except possibly the Party newspapers and a few of the pamphlets, and anybody who would be reading this literature I would say would at least be deeply interested in Marxism to the point where he would be going into it in a more or less thorough fashion."

### THE DAVIS CASE

In 1948, Senator Dilworth, Senator Watson, and Senator Burns and the committee's counsel, Mr. Combs, made a trip to Seattle, Washington, to attend a hearing which was held by the Un-American Activities Committee of the Washington State Legislature concerning Communist infiltration at the University of Washington. As a result of that hearing, Professors Ralph Gundlach and Herbert Phillips were expelled from the faculty of the university, a great deal of evidence having been received from many witnesses to the effect that they had been members of the same unit of the Communist Party that the two professors belonged

to, and that for at least a period of 13 years both Phillips and Gundlach had been secret members of the Communist Party while they were teaching at the university.

During the course of the hearings two cases of indoctrination of young students at the University of Washington were developed, and they were so strikingly parallel to the Hudson case that the committee deemed it relevant to its inquiry to introduce excerpts from the official records of the testimony of two fathers who testified concerning the indoctrination of their sons. The testimony of Mr. S. P. Davis, of Burlington, Washington, was as follows:

“Q. What relation are you to Phillip Hunt Davis?

A. I am his father.

Q. Was your son, Phillip Hunt Davis, ever employed by the University of Washington?

A. Yes, he was employed as a teaching fellow at the University of Washington from January 1, 1947, until June 30, 1947.

Q. Do you know whether or not your son was ever a Communist?

A. Yes, he was for several years.

Q. In what department at the university was Phillip employed, if you know?

A. In the foreign language department. *He was always good in foreign languages* (Committee's italics).

Q. Going back to the Communist Party, when did it first become apparent to you that your son was getting interested in Communism?

A. Phil first got indoctrinated in Communism during his high school career at Bellingham. He was on the high school debate team. It was about this time that the Young Communist League was functioning so actively at the normal school at Bellingham, and he joined the Young Communist League in his senior year at high school and then he went out to the normal school and became very active in the young folks branch of the Communist Party out there. He thought he had me in ignorance as to what was going on, but I soon knew from the crowd he was running with and the kind of speeches he was making to the young groups that he was a goner so far as Communism was concerned. While he was attending the normal school at Bellingham a Communist Party member told me on several occasions about the good work that Phil was doing in the Communist Party out at the normal school. I resented all this and tried to talk to Phil about it. But he would always brush me off with some statement to the effect that I wouldn't understand what Communism was about anyway. Finally I became alarmed and went to the normal school and tried to have a talk with the President of the normal school about Phil. That was Charles H. Fischer. He was president then. I complained to him about the activities of these young Communists and the Communist Party generally there at the normal school and told him how they were weaning my son away from his home, and from the church and from everything decent, for that matter, and all the



consolation I got out of Fischer was the statement: 'Mr. Davis, someday you will be proud of your boy, he's all right.'

I have never forgotten that statement when I think back on what happened to him during those years and since then. If I remember correctly, he went to the normal school at Bellingham during 1929, 1930, and 1931. Then he started getting into trouble because of his Communist Party activities. They were always calling on him to speak somewhere or they would call on him to help put over some front movement or whatever the line was at the time."

The committee wishes to point out at this juncture the striking similarity between the case at hand and the technique by which young Hudson was brought into the Communist movement. Davis, like Hudson, received his first Communist indoctrination in high school. Davis, like Hudson, was particularly good in foreign languages, and therefore would be prime material for development as a leader in the movement as was the case with young Hudson. The boy's father, like young Hudson's father, became so alarmed at his boy's obvious conversion that he went to the normal school and talked to the academic administrator there, just as Mr. Hudson went to U. C. L. A. and conferred with academic administrators at that institution. Both of the parents received the same typical type of response—a somewhat cold and unsympathetic attitude and the advice that the parents were not to worry too much about their children because "everything would turn out all right." This is the kind of cold and noncommittal attitude displayed by Mr. Vucinich in response to the letter written by Mrs. Helen Hudson, and illustrates as forcibly as anything the committee can imagine the profound lack of understanding concerning the most rudimentary elements of Communist Party recruiting techniques. That tragic lack of understanding is further exemplified in the attitude of the academic senate writers of the book, the *Year of the Oath*, at the University of California in Berkeley, where they express the feeling that a teaching assistant who was a nice-appearing individual and a woman who was only a piano player in a rhythm class could not possibly be dangerous to the welfare of the university and its students simply because they were ordinary, run-of-the-mill, harmless-looking individuals despite the fact that they were also Communists. This confused line of thinking on the part of academic administrators is one of the things that makes it comparatively simple for Communists to organize students on university campuses and one of the things that makes it difficult to stamp out the menace.

The testimony continued:

"Mr. Davis, may I interrupt to ask you if Phil got into any trouble with the authorities during this period because of his Communist Party activities?

A. Yes, it seems to me that he was always in some kind of trouble because of his activity in the Communist Party.

Q. Did your son ever preach Communism or expound its doctrine around your home?



A. Yes, he was continually talking about it.

Q. Briefly, what was the Communist Party line or doctrine he advocated?

A. Well, my home was really broken up because of his preaching Communism. He was constantly bringing Communist literature into the home in an attempt to influence his sister, his mother and all of their friends.

Q. Mr. Davis, were you yourself ever a member of the Communist Party?

A. I carried a Communist card for about four months.

Q. When and why did you become active in the Communist Party?

A. About 1930 I wanted to find out what was going on and started working for the Communist Party to get the answer.

Specifically, I got just as far in the Communist movement as I could, hoping to find out what it was that would enable them to virtually take my own son away from me. For instance, during the waterfront strike of 1934 I was a special deputy out of the Kings County sheriff's office and during this strike I was spokesman for the Communist Party chosen to confer with the railway firemen and engineers as they were going to throw a picket line across their tracks at pier 40 or 41. They finally caught up with me and made it so hot I had to drop out of their movement. By this time I had come to the definite conclusion there was nothing I could find out or could do to change Phil's thinking, and it became apparent to me that his mental condition had become affected as a result of Communism. He developed a persecution complex and began showing it in his actions.

Q. In what manner did this mental complex manifest itself?

A. He got the idea everyone was against him. Just as an illustration, he went into one of the local stores there at home and got angry and threw his shoes in the face of the merchant and swearing and yelling all the time. Later he went into the bank to get waited on and I guess because they were not waiting on him as fast as he thought they should, he got angry and cussed everybody out there at the bank. On another occasion he spit on the new car of one of the guests who was located at the printing plant where he worked. Why he did these things I don't know except that this persecution complex appeared to effect his mind. As a result of these escapades and mental tantrums a few of the business men there at Burlington decided he ought to be sent to a mental institution. Consequently he was sent to the Northern State Hospital at Sedro Wooley on June 6, 1933. I did not participate in his committal, but I understand he got a fair hearing before the sanity board. The complaint was filed against him by one of the deputy sheriffs. He hadn't been at the mental institution but a few days when all the Communists in the country started hammering on the Governor and superintendent of the hospital to release him. In fact he was only in the institution 20 days. The superintendent of the hospital told me that his examination revealed that Phil had a psychopathic personality with evidence of psychosis. On the day he was released there were a bunch of fellows hanging around the hospital

demanding that he be turned loose and I was told they were Communists and their conversation was the Communist Party Line at the time, claiming they represented the unemployed, the farmers and other working class bodies. I was later informed by persons that were in a position to know that it was a group whose business it was to get members of the Communist Party out of a jam anytime they got into one.

Q. Are you familiar with his activities of recent years?

A. No, except that I understand he was teaching out at the University of Washington during 1947, and I didn't know until recently that he was still there. I don't visit him anymore nor does he visit me. I certainly hate to report to you the things I have reported, but my loyalty to my government comes ahead of anything, so far as I'm concerned."

### THE SUMMERS CASE

The next case of indoctrination of students at a university was found in the testimony of Mr. Lane Summers, an attorney at law in the City of Seattle. Mr. Summers testified:

"Q. Mr. Summers, I will ask you if you ever had a child go to the University of Washington?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the name of this child?

A. You refer to my son?

Q. Yes.

A. Thane Summers.

Q. Do you remember about what year he went to the university?

A. 1933 to May, 1936.

Q. Now, did you talk with your son from time to time? How was he getting along at the university? How things were going?

A. Naturally.

Q. And did your son seem interested in his university work?

A. Very much so—particularly in the latter part of it.

Q. You described yourself as a middle-class American family, were you not?

A. Well, I'd rather others would describe me but certainly I was loyal to our American institutions.

Q. Now, did anything occur toward the last year of your boy's attendance at the university that was disquieting to you?

A. Well, I would say it was earlier than that; something occurred which was disquieting to me when I first discovered it and was continuously so thereafter.

Q. Will you please relate that for us?

A. I would not remember the exact date, but after he had been attending the university for some time on one occasion at home he made some comment as a result of a book he was reading in the course of the evening and I was a little surprised and asked him to read it again, and I said: 'Well, where did you get that?' Well, that was one of the books

he was asked to read by one of his professors. I said, 'Well, that's virtually Communism,' and he said, 'Yes, I know that.' Well, I said 'you certainly don't believe that?' He said, 'Yes, I do.' That being the first conversation and the first occasion during which I learned that he was interested in Communism.

Q. Did he mention to you what class that book was used in?

A. As of the present date I'm a little uncertain whether it was psychology or philosophy.

Q. Did he say anything about it not being required reading but that credits would be given if he studied it?

A. There was quite a little discussion during the course of the evening during the course of which he indicated to me that the material we were discussing was not given to him in his text books but was given to him in so-called extra reading. He gave me a list at that time of some, I recall, 20 books which he said he had been requested by his instructor to read, and had been advised that if he did read all these books he would be given extra credit. At that time, he was in the process of reading them.

Q. Did you observe any of these books?

A. I was very much interested and made a memorandum of the books. I made, more or less, superficial examination of all of them at a later date.

Q. Did you come to any conclusion as to the type of books they were?

A. Yes, I did. I, in my own thinking, would classify most of them as definitely very radical in their essence and influence. All of them, I think, but one. One of them, as I recall, I felt was more of a factual book and conservative in its tone.

Q. Now did your son admit to you that he had embraced the tenets of Communism?

A. Not at that time, but later; he didn't only admit it, he asserted it. He was very definitely aggressive in his Communistic attitude before he was finished with his attendance at the university.

Q. Did he tell you what professors were encouraging him in this stand, if any were?

A. Not only did he tell me who they were, but he quoted them many times to me. From the date which you called to my attention, until he finally left my home, he and I had a great many discussions and arguments about the teaching that he was receiving and about the indoctrination that he had been subjected to and about the fallacies of it and the right and the wrong of it. In other words, when he was not studying and when he was at home, for many months there was more or less a continuous discussion of the problem between himself and me. In those discussions he mentioned several of his professors or instructors as being the men from whom he was acquiring the indoctrination that I have described.

Q. Who were these?

A. One of them was Ralph Gundlach.

Q. Ralph Gundlach.

A. One was Hugh DeLacy.

Q. Hugh DeLacy.

A. Another was Mr. Rader. I am not sure that I remember his first name. Another was Herbert Phillips. In the same classification of our discussions he frequently quoted from Howard Costigan, and referred to him, but he was not connected with the university, so far as I now recall.

Q. Now, as near as possible, these original discussions then started along in early spring of 1935 and they continued over a year. Would that be about right?

A. I wouldn't want to fix the date when they first started, but he had been attending the university for some time and they continued throughout his attendance at the university.

Q. And he started to the university in 1933?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, will you explain what occurred in 1936.

A. Shortly before he was to be graduated he announced to me, much to my surprise, that he had concluded he was not going to remain at home because he felt it was inconsistent, knowing my conservative ideas, to receive financial support from me when he intended to use his education and his efforts to further Communistic purposes, and he said that he was therefore going to leave home; and he also said at about the same time, that he was—or, perhaps a little later, that he was unwilling to take his examinations for graduation because he felt that a diploma from the University of Washington might classify him among the intelligentsia and he didn't want to do anything that would handicap him in his Communistic efforts after he left school.

In consequence, he did leave home, he did refuse to take his examinations and he went to live at the home of Ralph Gundlach, which was at that time somewhere near the Helen Busch School on, I think 33d North. I delivered him frequently to the house after that, when he would come to my home for a meal or for a visit and would return; for sometime I delivered him to Professor Gundlach's house, where he was then living.

Q. Now, did he subsequently become active in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

A. He did.

Q. Here in the City of Seattle?

A. He enlisted here.

Q. Did he say who handled his enlistment? Do you recall that?

A. Not specifically, as I now recall.

The influence so far—I don't recall his ever mentioning others than those I have mentioned. He may have mentioned others, but I don't recall it now, but he probably did; but insofar as I would be able to name names I have given you all the names that I have a definite recollection of. He enlisted in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, but I am rather of the impression that I didn't ever know that he had anything to do with it until after he had left Seattle.



Q. Now, even after he left Gundlach's home, he still moved in that circle where Gundlach moved?

A. He with DeLacy and some others were among the pickets who picketed the 'P. I.' I don't remember what year that was, but I'm inclined to think that was a little earlier; he was referring to people that I have mentioned, on many discussions that we had.

Q. And did he subsequently, as a result of enlisting in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, go to New York and eventually to Spain?

A. Yes, that was in the spring of 1937.

Q. Did he lose his life in Spain?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you notified of this?

A. I was notified of it through the Abraham Lincoln Brigade."

### THE VULINEC CASES

In addition to the U. C. L. A. case, which resulted in the death of Everitt Hudson, and the two Seattle cases which have been mentioned above, the committee at its Los Angeles hearing in December, 1950, considered two other cases of indoctrination of young people in California.

The first case was the case of Annette Herniter, and evidence on which the committee's information was based was taken from Civil Case No. 45972, which originated with the filing of a petition for a writ of habeas corpus in the Superior Court of San Mateo County, California, by the girl's father, Isador Herniter. The petition, which was filed on the fourth day of June, 1948, alleged that Annette was 20 years old, that she was the daughter of Isador and Ida Herniter, of New York, that she left her home in July of 1946 and came to California for the purpose of visiting Elizabeth and Anthony Vulinec, who then resided in Mill Valley, Marin County, California. The petition further states that the Vulinecs so alienated the affections of this girl that she repudiated her parents, refused to return home, and was being held under the complete domination and influence of Elizabeth and Anthony Vulinec. Pursuant to this petition a hearing was held and the Vulinecs were represented by attorneys McCarthy and Rowell, whose offices were located in the Russ Building in San Francisco and at 234 Marshall Street in Redwood City. On June 9, 1948, Superior Court Judge Edmond Scott made an order restoring the girl to the custody of her parents, but she refused to go and since she was able to secure attorneys to prosecute an appeal of Judge Scott's decision and became 21 years of age between the time the appeal was taken and the time the matter was presented before the appellate court in California, she became a free agent having attained her majority, repudiated her parents, and so far as the committee is aware is still living with the Vulinecs.

From independent evidence, a part of which will be presented further in this portion of the report, the committee was completely convinced that Elizabeth and Anthony Vulinec were not only members



of the Communist Party of California, but experts at recruiting young people like Annette Herniter into the Communist movement.

In the superior court proceeding several exhibits were introduced, being letters which were written from the Vulinecs to the Herniter girl and her parents, and in one of these letters, which is dated June 4, 1946, Mrs. Vulenic expressed delight at the girl's political development, saying: "I'm so happy about your political development. You're just wonderful!" And the letter then criticized the parents and undermined Annette's respect for them, saying: "\* \* \* it usually happens that when we begin to sprout our own independent way of life it disturbs those deep-seated (but not always good) identifications to our parents, our home and all that had meant security in our growing up. It takes different types, differing time elements to find security in their chosen paths of ideologies \* \* \*." This letter, which obviously tended to undermine the respect and confidence the girl had in her parents, was mailed to her a short time before she left New York to visit the Vulinecs in California.

In another letter, written after the girl had come to California, and dated December 6, 1946, Elizabeth Vulinec endeavored to reassure the girl's parents by stating that she was very well adjusted and going to school, but at the time of the hearing the official records of the court showed that the school which the Vulinecs selected for this young girl was the California Labor School at San Francisco, which has already been identified as a Communist Party school, and is so listed by the Department of Justice of the United States Government.

It is interesting to note that the appeal filed in this case was taken by the firm of Gladstein, Anderson, Resner & Sawyer of San Francisco, who are attorneys devoting virtually their entire time and practice to defending Communists. Richard Gladstein has been identified before this committee on several occasions as a member of the Communist Party of California, and a very important one, by the testimony of many witnesses, and it was Mr. Gladstein who participated in the defense of the members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States in their trial before Judge Medina in Foley Square, New York, and drew from Judge Medina a contempt sentence because of the antics he displayed. The records of the other members of this notorious firm are well-documented in the files of every investigative agency in the business, and it is highly significant that they were selected to prosecute the appeal by which the Herniter girl repudiated her parents and went to live with a pair of highly indoctrinated Communist recruiting specialists.

The next case which was brought before the committee during the December, 1950, hearing is the case of a boy who attended high school at Redwood City in 1949. This boy was approached by Elizabeth and Anthony Vulinec, was alienated from his parents, left his home but fortunately was weaned away from his Communist contacts and is now back with his parents, apparently well adjusted. During the hearing

it was pointed out that Senator Burns and the committee's counsel, Mr. Combs, were in San Francisco on December 4, 1950, at which time an affidavit was taken from the boy's father, who consented to give the affidavit and cooperate in every possible way providing the committee would not reveal his name or the name of the boy because he was apprehensive that the boy might be emotionally disturbed again if there was too much publicity attending the case. Senator Burns and the committee's counsel agreed not to reveal the name, but the name of the father and the boy are in the committee's records as well as the original affidavit, which was taken in the office of the father's attorney.

The father stated that in 1948 he and his wife were residing in Menlo Park, California, near the campus of Stanford University. Their son, who was then 17 years of age, was a student at Sequoia High School in Redwood City, where he came into contact with a group of radical young students who were members of an organization known as *Students for Wallace*. This organization has already been identified through the sworn testimony of Mr. Robert Scigliano, the U. C. L. A. student, as being dominated lock, stock and barrel by the Young Communist organization. Eventually this young high school boy began bringing his new friends to the family home and it was then that the father realized that his boy was being subjected to extremely radical influences and indoctrinated with the free-wheeling principles of Marxism. The boy was acquainted with a colored man by the name of Edward Beck who visited in the family home and who at the time resided at 1228 Shasta Road in Redwood City. Since the youngster was staying away from his home for such long periods of time the father and mother became considerably alarmed and on one occasion, knowing that he was considerably influenced by Elizabeth and Anthony Vulinec, went to visit them. The Vulinecs lived in the vicinity of Redwood City, and were obviously exerting quite a bit of influence on an entire group of young people who were attending high school, and certainly on this particular student.

When the father and his wife first went to Vulinec's house to see if their son was there the front door was open and the father, who went up to rap for admission, saw Mrs. Vulinec stretched out on her bed with three booklets conveniently near her. The father immediately recognized the publications as Communist, since he had made it his business to interest himself in such matters. The instant he knocked at the door Mrs. Vulinec told him to enter. His surprise at seeing the Communist material on the bed apparently was obvious to Mrs. Vulinec who immediately said, "This is no Communist organization." Upon being asked if she knew where the boy was she replied that she didn't, but at the same time requested the father not to say anything to the police. According to the father's affidavit if this was not a Communist enterprise throughout, as he had excellent reason to believe it was, there was no reason for Mrs. Vulinec to become apprehensive about any police investigation—and he then and there became aware of the very real danger of the group that had drawn his son so close to it.

A few days later, the father again returned to the Vulinees, since his son was still absent from home, and asked if they knew any of his friends who might be contacted. On that occasion Mrs. Vulinee told him not to worry since the boy had "hundreds of friends," and then she proceeded to vilify and criticize the father because he was alarmed about his son's new associates.

The boy finally returned, and then the Vulinees and their entire group really went to work on him to undermine his confidence in his parents and to drive a wedge between them and the boy. The youngster continued to see the Vulinees, who told him that his parents were reactionary, bourgeois, and fascist.

Meanwhile the boy's work at school was suffering badly and he wanted to stay and attend summer school for the purpose of catching up on his work. The Vulinees accused the boy's teachers of being reactionary and fascist, which of course undermined his confidence in them just as his influence and confidence in his parents had been similarly undermined.

On two occasions the father went to the residence of Ed Beck and found the boy there. He asked Beck why he kept the boy away from his parents and failed to get any satisfactory answer. On another occasion the father went back with a police officer and when they threatened action against Beck for contributing to the delinquency of a minor the residents at the Shasta Road address, who up to that time had been thoroughly insulting and anything but cooperative, calmed down.

Early in November, 1948, the Vulinees, Annette Herniter, Phyllis Lindley and others were going to take this youngster to a *Young Progressives for Wallace* meeting in the City of Santa Barbara. The parents understood that the whole group was going, but they arrived at the family home in a station wagon about 8 p.m. and it then became apparent that only Annette Herniter and Phyllis Lindley were to make the trip with the boy. Their technique didn't work on this occasion because when the boy returned he told his parents that the conditions under which these "Young Progressives" lived were disgusting to him.

The father had become so alarmed at his son's failing school work in 1948 that he went to San Francisco to the headquarters of *Young Progressives for Wallace* and inquired of the girl there why they kept their high school members so extremely busy and how they financed all this constant round of activity on dues of 20 cents a month, but again instead of getting any sympathetic attitude he got nothing but double-talk and evasion.

In 1949 the boy voluntarily began to draw away from his radical contacts. Ed Beck left to attend school elsewhere, there was no more contact with the Vulinees, and the boy has since become readjusted and opposed to Communism.

This affidavit was sworn to on the fourth day of December, 1950, and in addition to the matters set forth in the affidavit the father informed Senator Burns and the committee's counsel of a great many details that have been omitted from this report, but which show beyond any question

that the basic technique of alienating young students from their non-Communist contacts, and driving a psychological wedge between the young people and their parents was the basic technique which was used in every one of these five cases which have been described in this portion of the report.

#### TESTIMONY OF BERT L. HANMAN

As a result of the committee's endeavor to get expert information concerning the cases, it managed to obtain the services of Mr. Bert L. Hanman, who holds two degrees from the University of California in Berkeley, had been a member of the Communist Party, and who has an international reputation in the field of industrial psychology.

Mr. Hanman testified that he joined the Communist Party in the summer of 1933 and left the Communist movement in the fall or summer of 1936 of his own volition. Having done a great deal of work in the field of industrial psychology and industrial medicine, Mr. Hanman was imminently qualified and testified that he has written many treatises on his specialty, has made many original researches in his field, had lectured at the London School of Hygiene, and the Glasgow University School of Medicine, at the Birmingham School of Medicine in England, and has spoken and done work in many foreign countries including Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, France and England. As a matter of fact Mr. Hanman lectured at an international conference on industrial medicine which was held in London, in 1948, and was the only nonmedical man invited to read a paper on that occasion. He also returned from Sweden on September 11, 1950, where he did a great deal of work for the Swedish Government under the auspices of the Royal Technical University of Stockholm; work which involved the organization of a great many of the Swedish governmental institutions and cooperative businesses. In appreciation the Swedish crown made him a Knight of the Order of Vasa on September 3, 1950.

Having thus been qualified, Mr. Hanman was asked whether or not he had any particular specialty when he was a member of the Communist Party and he answered that his specialty was recruiting young people into the ranks of the Communist movement. In that connection his testimony is particularly interesting, and therefore the committee deems it appropriate to quote verbatim from his statements, as it has quoted verbatim from the witnesses who were called before the committee in connection with the Everitt Hudson case.

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mr. Hanman, while you were a member of the Communist Party, what was your particular specialty, if any?

A. Well, I seemed to have ability to recruit.

Q. That is, recruit people into the Party?

A. Yes. During the three years I was with the Party, in a number of different California cities from Sacramento to San Diego, and in Salt Lake City, I am sure that I recruited a hundred or more members.

Q. And did you start any new units of the Party organization at any time or place?

A. Yes.



Q. About how many would you estimate?

A. I think it is safe to say six units, but in other areas I helped to recruit new members to existing units.

Q. That was your particular forte? In organizing?

A. In organizing.

Q. In the Party work, organizing and recruiting, is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you come to Los Angeles on this trip, what day?

A. Last Tuesday.

Q. Last Tuesday?

A. Yes.

Q. And you came at my request, didn't you?

A. Yes.

Q. And you and I had conferred about the Hudson case and these other matters at considerable length, have we not?

A. Yes, in considerable detail.

Q. Since last Tuesday, in considerable detail?

A. Yes.

Q. And you and I have analyzed each and every document that has been placed in evidence here?

A. That is right.

Q. And I have asked you to give me the benefit or give the committee the benefit of your opinions, not only as a member of the Communist Party whose specialty was recruiting and organizing, as distinguished from Mr. Mini, whose specialty was the training of leaders in the Party and teaching in the Communist schools, but also your opinion as a psychologist of obvious international stature, and you consented to do that, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now were you present in the room here today when I was reading into the record the two Seattle cases and the Herniter case and the other case that originated in Redwood City?

A. Yes. I am familiar with all five cases.

Q. And, of course, the Hudson case?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, do you find, as an expert, any common factor in all of those five cases?

A. Yes. I think it is quite clear that through all five cases the one fact that stands out more than anything else is frustration and heart-break within the family. Certainly in the Hudson case it is very clear; the family differences and anxieties on both the part of the parents and equally on the side of the boy himself. That was true in the two Seattle cases. It was equally true in the Annette Herniter case. Both the youths and the parents were heartbroken and frustrated.

The one case where happiness resulted was where the Redwood City boy came to his senses in time to realize the importance of basic family relationships in connection with his readjustment and happiness, and



from all five of the cases this was the only case where happiness resulted and that was when the boy returned to the family. Two of the other cases ended in death, one in very difficult mental strains and the other in dissatisfaction.

Q. Well, take your own personal experience and your family relationship in your own family, do you recall in one of the Seattle cases the father, in an attempt to win the son back into the home life again and restore him to a semblance of balance and adjustment, actually joined the Communist Party for a period of several months in order to accomplish that end. You remember that?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have a similar experience in your own case?

A. Yes, sir. Whatever a person's activity may be in the Communist Party, it is certain to be reflected in his family relationships, and at the beginning the youth usually tries to win the parents over to some degree.

Q. To his new way of thinking?

A. Yes, at least to make it possible for him to continue his family relationships with them, because the boy or whoever the youth is is aware that when he does break family relationships he does upset himself and he has to live with that upset for the rest of his life, the frustration. So the usual thing is friendly discussion with the parents and then heated discussion in trying to win them over. In my case, I was successful in getting my father to join the Party for a while. Then, it seemed like we were a little bit adjusted, but there were always doubts. My mother could never understand it, so there was this heartbreak that I mean, frustration, doubts, disappointment.

Q. Going back to your specialty in the Party as an organizer and a recruiter of personnel for the Party, of what value are schools to the recruiting specialist in the Communist movement?

A. Well, it is quite clear, not only to Communists but to anyone on earth, that the educated person is a valuable person, and certainly the Communist Party is aware of that and therefore for its upper level cadres it does all it can to recruit particularly from the university level and they are interested also in starting members earlier in the lower level schools.

Q. High schools, for example?

A. Yes.

Q. Now I note that you speak about recruiting for the "upper level cadres." Do you mean by that students with special abilities that are recruited by this technique and brought away from their families and developed for leadership?

A. Yes. I think Mr. Mini covered that point very thoroughly this morning.

Q. You agree with that?

A. Yes.

Q. Take for example a situation, any of these cases except the last one, the Redwood City case where the boy was finally discouraged and

then returned to his parents and adjusted; what, from a psychological standpoint, would be the effect of alienation from the family after the new recruit to the Party has endeavored to persuade his parents to understand his new Marxian way of thinking and fails to do so and moves out of the home, as occurred in all of these five cases; and the breach between the child and the parents becomes wider and wider and the child begins to operate in a new realm which is completely foreign to the things which he had experienced in the home, what, psychologically speaking, does that lead to?

A. Well, one analogy might be that the youth suffers many of the feelings that you might say an orphan suffers, the lack of home life and home love. So the youth has a choice of only going on further and further into higher belief of the Communist ideals and trying to find some kind of happiness there, or else return to his family; but whatever sort of happiness he may find in an abstract appreciation of Communist ideals, he is forever frustrated because of the family alienation, and it is the same psychology that orphans have. There is a vacuum there.

Q. Would that produce a condition of neurosis?

A. Yes.

Q. If the breach becomes wider and away from the parents and he is torn by a conflict between his devotion to the Party and his basic though perhaps subconscious devotion to his family?

A. It could be and is a very strong contributing factor to emotional unbalance.

Q. How do Communists generally view family relationships and the institution of a family?

A. Well, it might be unsafe to start theorizing with the new recruit. The new recruit is first convinced, as far as possible, about academic criticism of capitalism and philosophic criticism that surrounds western beliefs, and that sort of thing, and political criticism, ideological criticism of all western institutions, until the Communist has a sort of halo here of this fanatic idealism; and sooner or later this will come out in discussions with his family. When he gets to the point of being so completely indoctrinated it becomes impossible for him to have a compatible relationship with his family because it is opposed to the beliefs and background that go to make up the American or western family.

Q. Now, what is the general Communist viewpoint toward the family institution?

A. Well, it is one where the individual's first duty is to the State and for the Communist State and for the idea of revolution and the overthrow of capitalism. That is his first duty. His family life is not really respected or given consideration. So it doesn't allow him to carry out the responsibilities within a family as we ordinarily do.

Q. Mr. Hanman, do you recall that portion of the Redwood City case where the boy went with Phyllis Lindley and Annette Herniter to Santa Barbara, and upon his return told his family, in effect, according to the father's affidavit, that the conditions that these young progressives lived under were disgusting?

A. Yes.

Q. How would you evaluate that statement?

A. Well, it seems apparent to me that since he used the word "disgusting" he is referring to some moral behavior, and to translate that I feel that he is referring to the sexual freedom or practice that goes on among Communists as opposed to the concepts that we have.

Q. Is there a difference?

A. I should say Communists are for and have far freer ideas. I mean, too, again, a lack of responsibility.

Q. Do you recall the Vucinich letter in which after Mrs. Hudson had written to Everitt's new faculty advisor at Stanford expressing her concern over the boy's indoctrination, among other things, that he thought it was a good idea for the boy to take Russian because it was a valuable language in the field of psychology? Now is Russian a valuable language in the field of psychology?

A. Generally speaking, I would say not. The first language in the field of psychology is English, and that is internationally true. The letter which you refer to is in my estimation one where the professor is covering up the son's interests and activities and just trying to use some academic phrase that might satisfy the mother. But, certainly, the study of the Russian language is unnecessary for the study of psychology.

Q. Mr. Hanman, as a result of your reading of all of the documents of these various cases, have you arrived at any general conclusions?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Would you state them?

A. I believe there are some extremely important conclusions and lessons to be drawn from the data. I think they are lessons that concern every mother and father and every youth and every educator, and I think that they are lessons that can serve everyone, even the Communists themselves.

The absolute fact is that Communism is certain to be reflected within the family relationships. The family, therefore, is a very good and very accurate barometer of Communist leanings or Communist beliefs, and the result always is one of frustration for the whole family. It is a battle between the innate emotions of family love on the one hand, and of a fanatic idealist existence on the other. Now, to follow the ideals of Communism can only lead to further and further frustrations within the individuals.

Q. Because that conflict is accelerated?

A. That is right. The completely fanatic Communist may arrive possibly at some sort of abstract happiness, but even so, he will continue to suffer for his entire existence because that abstract happiness is in conflict with his innate emotions and family relationships. In brief, the only possible basic adjustment can come within the family itself, and this means quite clearly that happiness cannot lay in the direction of Communism. It can only lie in the direction of a strong, healthy, family unit."

# OAKLAND HEARING, MAY 8, 9, AND 10, 1950

## PARTY PURGES IN CALIFORNIA

The committee commenced a three-day public hearing in the City of Oakland, California, on the eighth day of May, 1950. There was a three-fold purpose to this hearing: To trace the physical organization of the Communist Party of Alameda County, as a typical example of county organization of the Party in the State of California; to trace the activity of the Communist Party in its underground espionage activities in connection with research work being conducted at the University of California, and to expose its activities as a fomentor of strikes and riots throughout the State.

The first witness who was called before the committee was Vern Smith. Mr. Smith has a most interesting record, having been a charter member of the Communist Party of the United States and foreign news editor of the *Daily People's World* in San Francisco. Since Mr. Smith's case is typical of that of many members of the Communist Party who for a long period of time devoted their full energies and abilities to furthering the cause of the international revolution, it is interesting to examine the case of Mr. Smith in considerable detail. He first appeared before the committee, pursuant to a subpoena, in December of 1947. On that occasion the hearing was also held in the City of Oakland, and the evidence which was produced before the committee indicated that Smith had been expelled from the Communist Party of San Francisco sometime during the summer of 1948, and immediately joined a splinter group of Communists who had been suspended or expelled from the Party.

The committee has noticed that not only in the United States but elsewhere throughout the world in every country where a Communist Party exists, there has been an ever-mounting tendency to draw the disciplinary lines so tight that all of the weaklings and the emotionally unstable members of the Party who hang around the fringes of the apparatus were deliberately driven from the Party ranks, and expelled for the slightest indication of deviation from the current Party line or the slightest criticism of Party discipline.

The history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union is one of the same sort of disciplinary action. Immediately after the Bolsheviks took power from the Kerensky government following the revolution of October, 1917, those who offered the slightest criticism of the current policy of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union met with swift and terrible vengeance. Through the powerful and ubiquitous activities of



the Soviet secret police, the entire country has been swarming with spies and informers ever since the revolution. When the favorite young bureaucrat of Stalin was assassinated in the Petrograd Soviet in 1934, it was the signal for the unleashing of one of the most savage orgies of blood purges that the world has ever seen. Every individual, Party member or not, who was in the least bit critical of the Communist regime, or who was the target for the most fragmentary whisper of suspicion by the Soviet secret police was not only arrested and thrown into the Lubianka Prison near the Kremlin, but his friends and relatives were likewise arrested on suspicion of being implicated with him and swift punishment meted out to them all. Not even in Hitler's Gestapo did that secret police organization have the power of investigation, arrest, trial and the carrying out of the execution. From 1934 until 1939 the purges swept across the Soviet Union from one end to the other, liquidating all those who might possibly offer the slightest show of resistance to the established regime of Stalin.

As the Communist Parties of the world have slavishly and fawningly copied the Soviet institutions and organizations, so have they copied the techniques as exemplified in the fatherland in the matter of purges. It is exceedingly difficult for a layman, and particularly an American layman, to understand why a thoroughly indoctrinated Communist dreads expulsion from the Party. The psychological explanation of this phenomenon is not too difficult to understand once you approach the problem with the proper point of view.

Joining the Communist Party is not a thing that can be accomplished on a sudden whim or impulse. There is probably no organization on the face of the earth today that is more careful about screening those who apply for membership. This care has been intensified since the war for the purpose of preventing infiltration of the Communist organization by counter-espionage agents from the various intelligence agencies of our own government. Some of the treason and perjury trials and particularly some of the recent espionage trials in Washington have indicated that the agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation have been extremely successful in placing informants high in the Communist Party organization.

Once an individual is accepted for membership he enters an entirely new and rather fascinating realm. He moves in an atmosphere of conspiracy and secrecy. His identity as a Communist is carefully concealed. He is notified of meetings in a mysterious and novel manner. His whole time is taken up with the reading of Marxist literature, scanning the columns of the *Daily People's World* and the *Daily Worker*; analyzing the Marxian language in the monthly ideological magazine, *Political Affairs*; reading the Party text books and current propaganda publications; attending a never-ending round of unit meetings, club meetings, branch meetings, section meetings, forums, front organizations, and hosts of other organization meetings as well as participating in strikes and



mass demonstrations of one kind or another. Thus the new Party member is literally absorbed in his work. He necessarily shuns all of his old orthodox friends and contacts because they are now members of the class enemy. He gradually comes to disbelieve everything that is published in non-Communist publications—including newspapers. He is vaguely conscious that he is a part of a vast and complicated international conspiracy for the overthrow of every capitalistic government on the face of the earth. He learns, gradually, to accept Party discipline from above blindly and without hesitation, often carrying out the Party directives from his superiors at great personal inconvenience and expense. Over and over again the committee has received evidence of Party members leaving a lucrative business and leaving their homes and families because they were ordered to go to some remote locality and engage in a distasteful but necessary Party assignment.

After many years of this type of activity, and after the individual has become thoroughly indoctrinated and politically developed in the Communist movement to the point of fanaticism, he suddenly finds himself threatened with expulsion. At this state of his psychological development, expulsion from the Party means that he will be set psychologically adrift—isolated from his Communist contacts because he would be regarded by them as a traitor to the revolutionary cause, and more isolated from his old non-Communist contacts because of his record as a Party member. In addition to that, in case he may have a tendency to reveal any Party secrets or the names of any Party members that are unknown to the authorities, he is always a target for the Party's well-organized campaign of slander and vilification. Photostatic evidence of his Party affiliation is always ready to be mailed to an employer for the purpose of keeping him out of work; the instant he presumes to testify before an official agency as to his Party activities, he is immediately branded as a pervert, a psychopath, a chronic liar, a labor spy, and all of the unpleasant things that the Party can dredge up out of its arsenal of epithets. He is hounded from one job to another, and the Party leaves no stone unturned in an effort to thoroughly discredit and embarrass him so that in the event he sees fit to tell what he knows, the Party will, by this type of propaganda attack, whittle down his credibility. It is a never failing source of wonder to those members of this Committee who have served for a number of years, to notice that according to the Communist Party viewpoint, its members are paragons of intelligence and omniscience as long as they remain loyal to the Party, but the instant they either drop out of the movement or are expelled they automatically become infected with a peculiar virus which thenceforth transforms them into the perverts, liars, psychopaths, etc., that the Party claims them to be. A man can be a valuable member of the Communist Party from 1919 until Thursday, February 15, 1951, at 10 o'clock. But if, at that precise time, he dares to question the absolute bureaucratic authority of his Communist superiors, at that precise split-second he automatically becomes

infected with this same virus and roams the earth thenceforth as a pervert, a psychopath, a liar, a stool pigeon, a labor spy, a red-baiter, etc., etc., according to the party.

These are some of the things that are so dreaded by the Communist who is threatened with expulsion. In a word, he dreads with a morbid fear the prospect of being set psychologically adrift, belonging neither to his old Communist organization or to the non-Communist world. He is neither fish nor fowl. And he also dreads being hounded and attacked and vilified and smeared by his former comrades in the world revolutionary movement. This is a very real fear, and it simply cannot be understood thoroughly by any person who has not actually experienced it.

With the foregoing by way of preliminary explanation and background, it now becomes necessary to examine in detail the case of Vern Smith, as an example of what can happen to a person who remains loyal to Communism but expelled from the Communist movement.

As has already been stated, Vern Smith was a charter member of the Communist Party of the United States, having joined the movement in 1919. His Communist activities took him all over the Country. A journalist of considerable ability, he soon found work in the propaganda field and eventually became foreign news editor of the *Daily People's World* in San Francisco. He was highly regarded as an expert on the theoretical aspects of Communism and on the history of the Soviet revolution, and was greatly admired by the intellectuals in the Communist Party of San Francisco and elsewhere throughout the United States. In 1948 he saw fit to disagree with the current Communist Party line as exemplified by the superiors in the movement in San Francisco, which would mean those Party bureaucrats who were blindly obedient to the whims and dictates of William Schneiderman, the boss of District 13. Because of this evidence of deviation, Smith was expelled from the Party.

By the time of his expulsion, in the summer of 1948, the disciplinary control of all Party members in California had become so rigid and inflexible that a great many of the old Party members were driven from the ranks. Just as the old Bolsheviks were liquidated in the purges of 1934-39 in the Soviet Union, so were the old stalwart members of the Communist Party in the United States liquidated by being driven from the ranks and kicked out of the organization in the years immediately following the last war. And the process is still going on. Vern Smith is simply a typical example.

By the time Smith was driven out of the Party he had plenty of company. Harrison George, also a charter member of the Communist Party of the United States and a former editor-in-chief of the *Daily People's World* of San Francisco, was also expelled. So was Sam Darcy, who preceded William Schneiderman as head of District 13 of the Communist Party, which, as has already been explained, comprises California, Arizona and the Hawaiian Islands. So was William F. Dunn, who wrote a critical analysis of the role played by the Communist Party in the San Francisco general strike of 1934. So was Bruce Minton, and Ruth McKinney, and a host of others. Twenty-two were expelled in one bunch

in Alameda County. Another group was expelled or suspended in San Diego County.

This was the sort of purge that took place in the United States during the period after the last war, and which is still in progress. Now what was the result of expulsion on the Marxian loyalties of these individuals? We assume that they would make a forthright repudiation of the entire Communist bureaucracy in this Country and expose it publicly for what it is—for what they knew it to be by personal contact and experience. It is a shining example of the fanatic and stubborn loyalty to international Communism on the part of individuals who have been brought along and developed to a point of fanaticism that instead of turning on the ruthless bureaucracy that expelled them from its ranks, these individuals simply formed their own Marxian organization which they called the *Committee for Correspondence* and clung to their old Marxian beliefs, hoping that some day they might be permitted to crawl back into the ranks of the Communist apparatus from which they had been expelled.

When Vern Smith appeared before the committee in Oakland in December of 1947 he even refused to be sworn, thus demonstrating dramatically his complete contempt for the capitalistic government exemplified by the committee, and refused to answer any questions whatever. For this demonstration he was immediately cited for contempt, prosecuted before a jury in the City of Oakland and convicted by that jury after a deliberation of approximately seven minutes.

Vern Smith was the first witness to appear before the committee in Oakland on May 8, 1950. Having already been convicted for contempt and having executed the sentence, it was possible that Smith might change his attitude and consent to answer some questions. The committee did make a little progress, since in 1947 Smith even refused to be sworn. In 1950 he took an affirmation to tell the truth, and the general nature of the questions were indicated to him before he was asked to testify as follows:

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mr. Smith, I want to preface my examination of you by telling you that I don’t intend to ask you about any person or persons who are now or who have been members of the Communist Party; and I am going to confine all of my questions to you to general subjects; and they will all deal with your own personal experience in the Party and since you have left; and if such is the case, have you any objection to answering that type of question if I will restrict it with a promise to do that?

Mr. Smith: Yes, I certainly do have an objection, and I made my opinion and objection clear the first time when I was subpoenaed before the Tenney Committee as to the power and intent of a committee such as this; and the records of this committee merely shows that it is the continuation of the Tenney Committee, and I recognize you and your committee as an instrument of the capitalist class, engaged in breaking down in every way, little bit by little bit, the civil rights of people and classes in the workers interests in every way.”

Mr. Smith then stated that he was not represented by counsel, and preferred to act as his own attorney. He declined to answer specific questions concerning the experiences he had had in the Party and each and every other question for six or eight pages in the printed transcript of his testimony until the following question was asked him:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): Despite the fact that you and the other members of the *Committee of Correspondence* were expelled from the Communist Party, you still cling firmly to your belief in Communism and Marxism?

A. That's one question I will answer. I still cling firmly.

Q. You believe both in Marxism—

A. Yes, definitely.

Q. —and Communism?

A. Definitely.

Q. But you don't necessarily agree with the policies of the present organization of the Communist Party in the United States?

A. This is a round-about way—

Q. At least as exemplified by the Party in California?

A. This is a round-about way of elucidating information for the purpose of obstructing the right of political association and free speech and the right of political opinion, and I decline to answer for the reasons given before."

Notwithstanding the fact that Smith declined to answer the questions propounded to him, nevertheless additional questions were asked for the purpose of indicating to Smith and the other expelled members of the Communist Party who were present in the room that the committee was quite well informed concerning their activities after the time they left the ranks of the orthodox Communist Party organization.

Another of the witnesses summoned before the committee who was an exemplification of the expelled Party members was a man named Clarence Tobey, who has been a resident of Alameda County since 1905. Mr. Tobey consented to be sworn and testified that he was at one time a member of the Communist Party, and then he too refused to answer any questions concerning his experiences as a Communist. He, however, like Smith, did answer one question as follows:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): Despite the fact that you are no longer a member of the Communist Party of Alameda County, are you still a Marxist?

A. I certainly am.

Q. And are you still an ideological Communist?

A. I certainly am.

Q. Although you may not see eye to eye with the present administration of the Communist Party in this area?

A. I refuse to answer that question."

This type of testimony is typical of testimony received from all members of the Communist Party who have been expelled and subpoenaed to appear before the committee as witnesses. Each and every one of them maintained stoutly and emphatically, and obviously for the benefit of



the members who were sitting in the hearing room, that they were still fanatically loyal to international Communism and to the Communist Party. The committee wishes to emphasize the fact that if all of the members of the Communist Party in the United States are as fanatically loyal to the organization and to the international revolution as these witnesses are, then the combat against the Communist apparatus on the Pacific Coast is a grim and serious business indeed.

This is the type of fanaticism that breeds people like Gold, and Fuchs, and Allan May, and Alger Hiss, and Frederick Remington, and Dr. J. Frank Oppenheimer—this is the type of fanaticism that breeds Soviet espionage agents and saboteurs. This is the type of fanatic individual with whom we have to deal, and the committee finds that type of fanaticism exemplified in the testimony which has just been described.

Elsewhere in this report the committee has referred to the tragic lack of information by educational administrators and faculty members concerning the real nature and activities of the Communist Party. Considerable space was devoted to the chapter in the book published by the members of the academic senate of the University of California entitled the *Year of the Oath*, in which the academic senate members discuss Miriam Brooks Sherman, the piano player at U. C. L. A., and Irving David Fox, the teaching assistant on the Berkeley campus. The writers of that particular chapter indicate their firm belief that a piano player and a teaching assistant could not be dangerous individuals even if they were members of the Communist Party, because of the insignificant character of their positions with the university and the additional fact that they were nice, gentle, mild mannered people.

## UNDERGROUND SCHOOL

The committee finds an exact parallel in the case of a middle-aged woman by the name of Wilhelmina Loughrey. Mrs. Loughrey first appeared before the committee in a hearing which was held in the City of Oakland in 1946. She testified, almost apologetically and in a well modulated voice and a highly cultured manner that she was a member of the Communist Party and had been for some time; that she was in charge of the *Twentieth Century Bookstore* in Berkeley within a block of the front gate of the university campus; that she was informed concerning Communist ideology and theory; that she regularly attended meetings and was a part of the Communist organization in Alameda County.

Mrs. Loughrey is a rather tall, slender, well dressed woman, with grey hair. Her voice is low and gentle. She has a disarming and attractive personality. She is well-educated, cultured, genial, friendly, and certainly not the type of person one would believe to be a fanatic member of the Communist conspiracy. Common sense, however, indicates that under no circumstances would the Communist Party hierarchy permit an individual to have charge of a Communist book store—which is not only a recruiting center but also a medium for the dissemination



of Communist propaganda, but a highly-disciplined, thoroughly indoctrinated, obedient member of the Party. It was not until the committee received testimony concerning Mrs. Loughrey at the Oakland hearing which was held in 1950 that her real characteristics began to emerge into the record. The testimony on that occasion showed that she was, and probably still is, the head of the Communist book store and literature apparatus in Alameda County, and was thoroughly familiar with the underground apparatus of the Communist Party.

During the latter part of May and until approximately the twenty-second day of June, 1941, a small group of specialists in the Party conducted a school on underground Communist activities at the country residence of Mrs. Wilhelmina Loughrey near Orinda, Alameda County. The students who attended this school were all from Alameda County, but the instructors were top functionaries of the Party for District 13, some of them coming over from San Francisco for the purpose of delivering lectures on underground work, and the sessions were held every Saturday and Sunday during the period when the school was in progress.

It is common knowledge among persons who have had experience in the investigation of Communism in this Country that there have always been two parts to the Communist organization; the underground apparatus and that portion of the party which is exhibited to public view. Frequently the Communist organization has been compared to an iceberg, a small portion of which protrudes above the surface of the water, but the majority of the frozen mass being concealed from view below the surface. From a purely investigative standpoint, one may not know the exact size or shape of the submerged portion, but if the small protruding part is seen, the observer may be assured that the concealed mass is in the close vicinity. The committee had never been able to obtain from sworn testimony any details concerning the underground apparatus in California for very obvious reasons. The underground portion of the Party has been surrounded with all of the secrecy which human ingenuity is capable of devising, which makes it exceedingly difficult, indeed almost impossible, for investigative bodies to penetrate the veil of secrecy that surrounds such activities. At the Oakland hearing in May, 1950, however, the committee was fortunate in receiving testimony under oath, not from a person who attended the school at Orinda on the Wilhelmina Loughrey property, but from a person who was one of the top officials of the Communist Party at the time and who actually delivered some of the lectures.

The evidence showed that a well-known atomic scientist in the City of Berkeley, who was employed by the University of California, had a key to the Communist Party book store and frequently entered the same for the purpose of having private conferences and attending meetings. At the school the individuals who were selected to attend the lectures were instructed in the operation of a secret mimeograph and printing press so that propaganda material could be regularly printed and disseminated; instruction was given about the manufacture of hektographs,

and the manner in which meetings could be held and Party directives passed on without subjecting the underground apparatus to detection by investigators.

Space will not permit a reproduction of all of the testimony in detail concerning the lectures in this school, but the committee believes a sufficient part of the testimony should be set forth here for the purpose of indicating the thoroughness and detail with which these lectures on underground activities were conducted. In this connection it must be constantly borne in mind that the individuals who were selected for the purpose of delivering these lectures in their respective specialized fields have themselves received highly concentrated training in the subjects on which they spoke. Many of them had actually attended intensive training courses in the Soviet Union, at which they were thoroughly educated in the delicate arts of underground activities in the event the Communist Party in the United States was declared illegal. As has already been stated, the Party in America has been going deeper and deeper underground ever since the last war, and at the present time the vast majority of all Communist Party activities of an important nature are carried on by the underground apparatus.

Many times we have read in Party documents originating in the Soviet Union instructions to the effect that when it appears that a Communist Party in a foreign country is on the verge of being outlawed or driven completely underground its open activities, such as the open publication of open Party documents and propaganda, the maintenance of the open skeleton of the Communist Party organization, and the operation of front organizations and book stores must be maintained until the very last—endeavoring to continue open activity until actually forced wholly underground.

The principal lecturers were Rudy Lambert, Steve Nelson, Louise Todd, Kenneth May, and Paul Crouch. Mrs. Loughrey attended these week-end meetings occasionally, but did not participate in them in the capacity of a student—she was, however, quite aware of the fact that her premises were being used for the purpose of instructing selected members of the Communist Party in underground activities.

The texts that were used included *State and Revolution*, by Lenin; the *Communist Manifesto*; *Lenin's Letter to the American Workers*; *War, the Communist Party, and the Soviet Union*, and propaganda leaflets, pamphlets and directives. The lecturers covered two closely related fields, the first being the general nature of the state and the character of war, according to the Marxian viewpoint, and the other classification was the practical and immediate study of technical matters: how to store hectographs, preserve supplies of paper, ink, and so on, the use of the hectograph and the printing of propaganda leaflets.

The national head of the Communist Party underground during this period was a man by the name of J. Peters, who had ordered a supply of

small portable hectographs which could be folded flat and carried in a brief case, and which were distributed to all branches and sections of the Party in the United States. In addition, instruction was given the individuals who attended these lectures in the manufacture and use of gelatin in hectographing the propaganda material. The process was quite simple, and consisted of pouring a box of gelatin, melted in hot water, in a flat pan to the depth of about half an inch. The pan of gelatin would then be put in a refrigerator until it was cooled. Then all one had to do was use copy ink and an ordinary pen, or copy ribbon and a typewriter, wet down the gelatin device, rub the roller down and put the letter on the paper; in this manner the type would be imprinted on the surface of the rolled gelatin, which served as a plate, and the paper would be placed face down on the gelatin, rolled over the inked surface and in that manner approximately 25 copies could be made at a time. In the event the gelatin was to be destroyed, it only had to be melted and could be poured and used again when the opportunity presented itself.

The students at this underground school were instructed that they should never conduct open meetings but should use a code for the purpose of notifying each other that meetings would be held. Under no circumstances were more than five or six Party members to meet at one time, and in all underground meetings the scene was to be set so that to the casual observer or investigator it would give the appearance of a social gathering or a card party. The group sitting around the card tables would ostensibly be playing a game of bridge or canasta while actually they were conducting a Communist Party meeting.

In her capacity as head of the Twentieth Century Book Store in Berkeley, Mrs. Loughrey obtained her supplies of literature from the International Book Store on Market Street in San Francisco. The supplies were brought to her by automobile, she would sign the receipt, and the records would be maintained in the Communist Party Headquarters in Oakland. Mrs. Loughrey reported periodically to Communist Party headquarters concerning the sale of material from the store and would have to account to the Alameda County Communist Party treasurer for proceeds that were received from the sale of books and literature, not only to the Communist Party membership but to the general public as well. Part of the money was retained by the Communist Party of Alameda County, some went to the book store in Berkeley, some to the International Book Store in San Francisco, some to the Communist Party Headquarters of District 13, and part of it was sent to the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. According to the testimony received at the hearing, the Communist Party of Alameda County usually retained about 10 percent of the profits, the rest being split up as has already been stated.

## TESTIMONY OF PAUL CROUCH

Among the other witnesses who testified at the open hearing was Paul Crouch, who had been a high-ranking member of the Communist Party of the United States for a period of 17 years, and who had studied in the Soviet Union at the Red Army Military Academy. Mr. Crouch was particularly valuable as a witness before the committee for several reasons. In the first place he had voluntarily gone to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and given it the benefit of his experiences and recollections as a Party member over the 17-year period of his activity in the organization. In the second place Mr. Crouch was trained in the underground Party technique, and rose to a position of considerable eminence as a full time professional functionary in the Party. In the third place Mr. Crouch was a member of the District 13 Committee, which exercised jurisdiction over all Communist Party activities in the States of California and Arizona and in the Territory of Hawaii. Crouch was also the top official in charge of Party activities for the entire County of Alameda, including, of course, the University of California at Berkeley, and for all of these reasons he was in a position to tell the committee under oath and by reason of his own personal knowledge and experiences, a great many things that the committee would otherwise be unable to obtain. It should also be mentioned that Mr. Crouch was one of the most important witnesses produced by the government in its case against Harry Bridges before United States District Judge George Harris in San Francisco, and that Mr. Crouch had testified as an expert in many matters before the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service and other federal agencies. In all cases where efforts were made to check his information it was found entirely accurate and correct in every respect.

By way of qualification and background, Mr. Crouch testified that he was born in the State of North Carolina and obtained his high school education in Delaware, after which he took university extension courses at various places in the United States and did considerable work both in industry and in the field of journalism. In 1924 he entered the United States Army and was sent to the Hawaiian Islands. While there he was assigned to the Publicity Division of Military Intelligence. He stayed in the journalism department of Military Intelligence for a brief period and was sent to the 21st Infantry Barracks in the Hawaiian Islands where he continued his reading and discussions with various individuals who had backgrounds and viewpoints similar to his own. As the little circle of radical soldiers continued to grow and to expand its reading and its civilian contacts, it began to receive copies of *Pravda* from the Soviet Union, which were translated by one of the Russians in contact with the group, and copies of the Communist *Daily Worker* were also received from New York. The leader of this group was a man by the name of Walter Trumball, and he and Crouch succeeded in starting an extremely radical Communist nucleus in the Army. It was not long until their efforts were discovered, the two were court-martialed at Schofield Barracks, and Crouch was sentenced to a term of 40 years at



the Army Disciplinary Barracks on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. His sentence was eventually reduced to three years, and having served that time in Alcatraz, Crouch was released on the first day of June, 1927.

Even while he was serving his sentence in Alcatraz, Crouch, like all other Communists who are convicted and sent to prison, was regarded as a proletarian hero by the Party on the outside, and was of immense value to the Communist organization in the United States as an excuse for the unleashing of a widespread propaganda barrage. He received letters from individuals who were entirely unknown to him, among whom was Tom Lewis, who at that time was district organizer for the Communist Party in California. Through Lewis, Crouch made application to become a regular member of the Communist Party of District 13, and while he was in Alcatraz Crouch received a letter from Marcel Scherer, a man with whom he became intimately associated later, as will be seen. In 1943 Scherer was the head of a scientific espionage ring which succeeded in penetrating some of the most critical phases of atomic research activity in the United States—particularly at the Radiation Laboratory in Berkeley, California, and also at the plant of the Shell Development Company at Emeryville in Alameda County.

Shortly after his release in June of 1927, Crouch was taken on a brief speaking tour before various Communist organizations in the United States, and was then told that he would be sent to the Soviet Union for study. The expenses were paid by the Comintern, and Crouch went on a chartered Italian freighter which was rented by the Soviet government through Amtorg, the Soviet trading corporation in the United States which has been frequently characterized as simply a vehicle for the conduct of far-flung espionage activities.

Crouch was received with considerable enthusiasm when he arrived in the Soviet Union, because of his attempt to subvert the armed forces of the number one capitalistic country of the world, and for having languished in the Army Disciplinary Barracks at Alcatraz for three years as a result of his efforts. He was made an honorary colonel in the Red Army, and 30,000 troops of the Budenny Division paraded before him as a gesture of respect.

Crouch not only spoke at the Red Army Military Academy but also made several visits to the Lenin School, which has already been mentioned in this report as a training center where selected members of the Communist Parties of the world are sent for an intensive course in the techniques of sabotage and espionage. Mr. Crouch explained, during the course of his testimony, that the Lenin School and the Far Eastern University at Moscow were the two most important international training centers for revolution at the time he visited in the Soviet Union. In this regard it may be appropriate to quote from his testimony:

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): Will you describe for us, from your own personal observation, what the Lenin School was or is?



A. The Lenin School was the international training school for top Communist leaders from all parts of the world and it was closely associated with another Communist school known as the Far Eastern University.

Q. You say the Far Eastern University?

A. Yes, and these two schools, the Lenin School and the Far Eastern University, had a course of study of two or three years, and it was exclusive in its study of Marxism and a study of practical application of the Communist line and also there was considerable military training with Red Army officers.

Q. Did you, while you visited the school on several occasions—you did visit the school, and did you see machine guns and grenades and other weapons that were brought there from the various armies of the world?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. In other words, there were all types of weapons from the various countries of the world and instructions were given in the use of those weapons, is that true?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. Are you personally acquainted with some of the graduates of the Lenin School?

A. Yes, many of them.

Q. Was espionage considered one of the important subjects at the Lenin School?

A. Yes, one of the most important.

Q. And sabotage?

A. Yes, sabotage in great detail and technical detail, that was taught, and the methods they used under certain situations, and so on.

Q. And among the people elected to attend the Lenin School were members of the Communist Party of the United States?

A. Yes, there were members of the Communist Party of the United States.

Q. How many of them were personally known to you?

A. There were more than a dozen students in Moscow at that time, who were personally known to me.

Q. Whom you personally knew attended that school?

A. Yes, and who subsequently returned to the United States and held very important positions, and one of those is now living in San Francisco.

Q. An important position in the Party?

A. Yes, an important position in the Communist Party."

Mr. Crouch further testified that he was familiar with the activities and general organization of the Comintern and also with one of its most important subdivisions, the Young Communist International, in which he took a leading part. He stated that the Communist International or Comintern should be regarded as the chief part of the Russian Communist Party, and the top-level decisions, according to Crouch, were made by

the executive committee of the Comintern and transmitted to the Communist Parties in various countries throughout the world. Thus the policy of the Russian Communist Party was sent to the executive committee of the Comintern and through it to the various Parties of the world that were required to be in constant conformity with the ever-changing foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Crouch spoke over the Comintern radio system to various European countries, addressing them both in the English language and in Esperanto. He returned to the United States in June of 1928, his expenses having been paid, not only en route to and from the Soviet Union but during his visit there, by the Comintern at the rate of 200 rubles a month. His description of the trip was of particular interest to the committee for the reason that on the voyage to the Soviet Union he met a man by the name of George Mink, who showed Crouch his credentials as a member of the Soviet Secret Police and who later turned out to be a cousin of Solomon Lozovsky, a prominent bureaucrat in the Russian Communist Party. Mink, who was once a taxi driver in Philadelphia, and who had considerable experience in waterfront activities in this Country, later emerged as one of the leading espionage agents in the Russian Secret Police System, and spent a considerable portion of his time organizing the Communist forces along the waterfront in the City of San Francisco and elsewhere on the Pacific Coast. Crouch testified that although the two were quite friendly on the trip to the Soviet Union, he saw very little of Mink during their stay in that country, and has not seen him since. The return trip was made on the *Isle de France*, and when Crouch arrived in this Country he came with instructions from his Communist superiors in Russia that placed him in charge of infiltrating the armed forces of the United States, and authorized him to work as a sub-editor on the *Daily Worker*, which is the official Communist Party newspaper published in New York.

He engaged in this work of attempting to organize Communist units in the armed forces of the United States until approximately 1930, and since breaking with the Communist movement has made available to Government officials information that would be of interest to them in that regard.

His testimony concerning the Young Communist League in the United States was of particular importance and in that regard he made the following statements:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, in those years after you had returned to the United States, Mr. Crouch, that is from 1928 on, how important was the Young Communist League considered by the Party in this country?

A. Of the greatest importance; it was considered of the greatest importance to the Party.

Q. For what reason?

A. First of all, because it was from the youth that they expected to recruit the Party members of the future, and it was regarded as a

training school for future Communist leaders; and also the army was considered, the Young Communist League being of particular importance because it was able to lead the youth who would serve in the armed forces.

Q. You were National Education Director of the Young Communist League?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you first assume that position?

A. In May, at the national convention in May, 1929.

Q. How long did you hold it?

A. I held it until 1930.

Q. Were you editor of the Young Communist League publication?

A. Yes, the *Young Worker*; and, incidentally, Gilbert Green is National Educational Director and he was my assistant as national editor and he succeeded me when I was transferred in 1930 to other activities."

Mr. Crouch testified that he came in contact with Whitaker Chambers who was doing editorial staff work on the *Daily Worker* during the fall of 1927 and the summer and fall of 1928 and part of 1929, and also came in contact with Vern Smith, already mentioned, who also worked continuously on the *Daily Worker* in New York during that period.

Because it was so typical of the technique employed by the Communist Party in this country to dupe and fool innocent and trusting liberals, Mr. Crouch described his personal activity in connection with a little-known Communist dominated organization called the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. In that connection he testified as follows:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, in 1938 and 1939 there was a crusade launched in the south—the southern states—called the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, did you play any part in that activity?

A. Yes, a very important part.

Q. Was that a Communist-inspired activity?

A. Yes, it was planned, organized and carried through by the Communist Party.

Q. How do you know that?

A. Because I was at the top meetings that planned it, and I was a member of the steering committee, and I was in the Communist Party steering committee which directed the first efforts at Birmingham, Alabama, in November, 1938, and I was the Communist Party steering committee member at the southern conference at Chattanooga, Tennessee in 1940.

Q. Why was the Communist Party interested at that time in launching a crusade for human welfare, so-called, in that part of the country?

A. Because of the international situation. The Soviet Union felt that it was threatened by the increase of military power of Hitler and it was anxious to organize a bloc of allies to resist or prevent a possible struggle between Russia and Germany, and for this purpose they cultivated a friendship between Great Britain, the United States, and France, and

other democratic countries, pretending to be what is called a democratic country; then it reversed its previous position and instead of denouncing Roosevelt they became his most active supporters and became interested in all kinds of reforms which they had previously denounced as bourgeois reformation, and they didn't follow their former line with reference to Democracy. And in this respect, this conference, the southern conference, was the kind of organization that they needed and in which with respect to poll taxes and race relations and things of this kind, their interest was paramount; and at the same time they were doing this they were trying to improve friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the democratic countries in order that the Soviet Union could have allies against Germany in the event of war. And they, at the same time, were trying to infiltrate into high positions in our government and to get a better organization and to obtain important government jobs, and things of this sort, things of this kind. And by taking advantage of these things, such as social reforms, they were able to increase their effectiveness in that direction.

Q. Was a magazine or newspaper published in order to launch this organization?

A. Yes, the *New South*.

Q. Who edited the *New South*?

A. I did.

Q. For how long a period?

A. From April 1938 until it discontinued publication, after the outbreak of the war in Europe in September 1938.

Q. A great many prominent people in governmental circles were very interested in the southern conference, were they not?

A. Yes, many prominent officials, such as the Supreme Court Justice and, while he wasn't an official of the government, and the wife of the President of the United States—were induced to speak there. Of course, I should make it clear that Mrs. Roosevelt obviously didn't know that this was a Communist organized affair when she accepted, and a letter was sent by the President of the United States to this conference, and it was obtained through the Communist Party, of course, without Mr. Roosevelt's knowledge. This was Communist-inspired and he certainly didn't know the man he was talking to when sitting in his car, about the conference, and about this letter; this was one of the highest officials in the Communist Party in the United States.

Q. You knew this man?

A. Yes, I knew this man intimately for many years.

Q. And you worked with this man intimately for many years?

A. Yes, and the man frequently was a guest at both the White House and Hyde Park.

Q. Was that an example, Mr. Crouch, of the technique used by the Communist Party to dupe sincere people with humanitarian motives, who were taken advantage of by the Communist Party for its own ends?

A. Yes, a very typical example, and one of the most classic examples that I know of, and there have been scores of such organizations such as

the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and they work government officials, university presidents, and doctors, into their schemes for various lengths of time, without knowing their true character.

Q. And the true character, of course, is carefully concealed from them?

A. Yes, certainly.

Q. In this particular enterprise, you, yourself, were running it?

A. Yes, I was one of the committee of about five members, five Communist leaders, who directed every step of that organization.

Q. From its inception to its conclusion?

A. Yes, from its inception to its conclusion.

Q. Did you meet with top Communist functionaries in order to plan strategy techniques by which you could make that enterprise meet with success?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever attended meetings of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States?

A. I attended practically every meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States during my years of activity except when I was in fields too remote, and then it was practically impossible to attend. For example, from June, 1934, until I came to California I don't believe there was a meeting of the Central Committee that I didn't attend, and I also, all through this period, received the minutes of the Politburo weekly until the outbreak of the war.

Q. Describe what you mean by the Politburo for the record.

A. The Central Committee of the Communist Party holds meetings three or four times a year and elects the committee of from 7 to 11 members, known as the Politburo. And the Central Committee members who are sufficiently near to come into New York City, meet nearly every week; and this Politburo is the highest branch of the Party between the meetings of the Central Committee.

Q. That is a typical procedure? In other words, the Executive Committee of the Comintern is the top, is the supreme international authority between meetings of the Comintern; and the District Bureau is the top authority between meetings of the district; and then the Executive Committee of the Communists between meetings is the Politburo, it is supreme and the supreme governing body?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. You had access to those minutes during the period of time that you described?

A. Yes.

Q. Now you did Communist Party work in Alameda County, California, did you not?

A. Yes, during the time that I was in Alameda County I was in charge and I was department organizer, I was county organizer and on the Control Commission.

Q. Anyone on the Control Commission then is in the top body?



A. Yes.

Q. And in the commission you were tops?

A. Yes.

Q. And you were the chairman of that?

A. Yes.

Q. And I presume you meted out Communist Party discipline to those members who were unfortunate enough to be called before you?

A. Yes.

Q. It was part of your job as a member of that commission, or as chairman of that commission?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. You had charge of that?

A. Yes, I was head of it."

Having thus qualified Mr. Crouch for a position of great eminence in the Communist Party organization, the testimony developed that he had been in charge of Party activities for the entire State of Tennessee from September, 1939, until April, 1941, and that in early 1941 he came to California where he was put in charge of the Party organization for Alameda County and was made a member of the District Bureau for District 13, which, as has already been seen, had its headquarters at 942 Market Street in the City of San Francisco and exercised jurisdiction not only over all matters in the State of California but also in the State of Arizona and in the Territory of Hawaii. In this position of power and influence in Communist Party circles, and particularly in view of the fact that Mr. Crouch had addressed the European countries over the facilities of the Comintern radio from Moscow, had served a term in the Army Disciplinary Barracks at Alcatraz, had gone on lecture tours as a Communist martyr throughout the United States, had been sent by the Comintern itself for training to the Soviet Union, had been made an honorary colonel in the Red Army, had 30,000 troops of a Russian Infantry Division passed in review before him as a gesture of honor, and had been admitted to contacts with the Soviet Secret Police, and returned to the United States for the purpose of heading infiltration of Communist nuclei into the armed forces of this country—for all of these reasons, Paul Crouch was most eminently qualified to testify concerning what occurred in Alameda County during the period of his regime as head of the Communist Party there.

In his capacity as organizer for Alameda County, it was Crouch's business to be completely aware of all of the details of every Communist Party transaction, stratagem, strike technique, organization activity, recruiting at the University of California, sale and dissemination of books, propaganda literature and pamphlets, and everything else pertaining to the activities within the entire county. This being true, the character of Mr. Crouch's testimony concerning the activities of Rudy Lambert and Kenneth May in their manipulation of the supersecret portion of the Alameda County Party known as the "Special Section," is of transcendent importance when considered in connection with the material regarding Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

## ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN ALAMEDA COUNTY

The testimony of Mr. Crouch in conjunction with the information already in the possession of the committee at the outset of this Oakland hearing set forth in detail an extremely accurate picture of the physical organization of the Communist Party of Alameda County. In that regard it may be well to quote from some of the testimony, since his statements covered the activities of high-ranking Party functionaries in San Francisco, some of whom played a highly significant part in the activities of the Alameda County Special Section, or espionage group, and who will be mentioned later in connection with the section of this report dealing with the activities of that part of the Communist apparatus. Mr. Crouch said:

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): At the time that you were county organizer you were a member of the District Committee of District 13, were you not?

A. I was.

Q. And during that same period of time, was Walter Lambert also a member of the district?

A. Yes, he was a member.

Q. And his brother, Rudy Lambert?

A. Yes.

Q. And his sister-in-law, Louise Todd?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you meet with them during that period?

A. Yes, and with other members of the bureau.

Q. With other members of the bureau; who were some of the other members?

A. William Schneiderman and Connie Yates and Steve Nelson.

Q. They were members of the bureau?

A. Yes, they were members of the bureau.

Q. That comprises the membership of the District Bureau, as distinguished from the District 13 Committee, which you have testified exercised jurisdiction over California, Arizona and the Hawaiian Islands?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. That was the top Communist Party decision-making body, with jurisdiction over that area?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. And in the District Bureau, running those affairs between the meetings of the District Committee, which was a larger group?

A. That is right.

Q. Was the headquarters of that district located at 121 Haight Street when you first came to California in 1941?

A. Yes, they were.

Q. Is that where the District Committee, the District Bureau meetings and the District Committee meetings, were held?

A. After June 22, but not before.

Q. Now, where were they held prior to that time?

A. They were held in a private home. I don't know the name of the owner or the address since I was always driven there, usually by Walter Lambert, but I would know the place if I were to see it, especially if I were to see the interior.

Q. Have you made any effort to locate it?

A. I have made extensive search but without success.

Q. In what general part of the City of San Francisco was it situated?

A. My best recollection is that it was in the foothills of Twin Peaks and I recall a hill almost facing the meeting place, and there was an underpass about two blocks away through which we went, I would say, to the meeting place; and it was either a corner house or a house back from the corner, a two-story house with a very unique interior and the entire upper floor being one large living room with ultramodernistic furniture.

Q. And the ground floor was what, a living room and sleeping apartment?

A. It was a living room and sleeping quarters and servant's room, and you came into a hall from the street and walked up a stairway to the left and came in a room which led up to a second floor and a large living room; and there the meetings were held and there was no one present when we arrived, and Walter Lambert had a key to the house.

Q. And did he use it to open the door and go in with you?

A. Yes, he used it to open the door.

Q. And then, other members of the District Bureau would come into the room later?

A. Other members of the District Bureau would come in the room later, and sometimes other members were present before we arrived.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Leo Baroway?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he speak at the bureau meetings?

A. Yes, frequently.

Q. He was a bureau member?

A. No.

Q. What were his duties?

A. His chief activity was giving aid or help to Louise Todd, and he also assisted Rudy Lambert on financial matters; he was chief book-keeper and office manager.

Q. You prepared diagrams about a year ago or a great many months ago, setting forth in elaborate detail various offices in the Communist Party headquarters during 1941, and the office space assigned to each of the members of the District Bureau, did you not?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Giving the detailed plan of not only the house that you have described, but other residences as well where you attended Communist Party meetings at various times?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. Now, would Walter Lambert invariably pick you up and take you to these District Bureau meetings, or did you sometimes go by yourself?

A. I never went by myself, but I did go on one or two occasions with other members. To the best of my recollection I went with Schneiderman once and Rudy Lambert once or twice and possibly with Steve Nelson.

Q. Where would you be when they took you to these various meetings?

A. I was at the Party headquarters and I would go from there.

Q. How did you know there was to be a bureau meeting?

A. Invariably there was a meeting every Wednesday afternoon as a standard procedure and being in charge I would know about everything; otherwise, I would go to the district office and go from there.

Q. During the time or after the meetings were being held at the Communist Party headquarters, you didn't go?

A. After June 22 they were held in Schneiderman's office.

Q. Now, the meetings usually lasted all afternoon, didn't they?

A. Yes, the meetings usually lasted all afternoon.

Q. They started about 1 o'clock and concluded about 5 o'clock?

A. About that time, but sometimes when there was a great deal to be taken up, we would divide the time and I have come over from home in the morning and we have recessed and continued in the afternoon; but usually the meetings lasted about three hours on Wednesday afternoons.

Q. In view of the fact that many of these individuals are currently active as Communist Party members, I think it would be worth while to give the committee a description of their particular specialty in Party affairs at the time that you attended these meetings. Let us have them one at the time.

A. All right.

Q. The meetings were presided over by William Schneiderman, were they not?

A. Yes, they were.

Q. In his capacity as organizer for the entire district?

A. Yes.

Q. And he also presided at the bureau meetings—the District Bureau meetings, did he not?

A. No, he presided at the District Bureau meetings and the District Committee meetings, and the usual procedure was for Schneiderman or Louise Todd, who was organizational secretary, to call the meeting to order and then elect a chairman for the session; for example, I recall on one occasion on July 13 where I was the chairman for the afternoon session. That is just one example.

Q. How did you happen particularly to remember that occasion?

A. I happened to remember that occasion because it was the first District Committee meeting after the German attack on the Soviet Union.

Q. And that was on June 22, 1941?

A. Yes, that was on June 22nd.

Q. Proceed with your answer.

A. And I remember it as a meeting at which William Z. Foster was present, and at which Schneiderman and Steve Nelson gave a report to the Central Committee at this meeting, the entire line that we adopted, and it was certainly the most important meeting while I was in California.

Q. The invasion of the Soviet Union resulted in a complete reversal of the Soviet Party line?

A. It did.

Q. That is, the invasion resulted in a reversal of the Party line towards trade unions?

A. Yes.

Q. Then it resulted in a closer association between trade unions and political parties, did it not?

A. Yes, it did.

Q. Did you thereafter, as district organizer, after June 22, 1941, deliver a series of political reports to the various sections of the Communist Party in Alameda County?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. On that subject, changing the Party line, and the reason for it, because of the international situation?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. Rudy Lambert—let us take Rudy Lambert. His true name is Carl Rudy Lambert; or do you know?

A. I don't know. I knew him as Rudy Lambert.

Q. He has a brother, Walter Lambert?

A. Yes, he has a brother, Walter Lambert.

Q. What was his specialty at the time that you attended the district meetings with him?

A. Rudy Lambert was a member of the underground apparatus of the Party and was head of the Control Commission; that is, in charge of all Party discipline; and he was the head of the finance department, also. But he was so busy with other matters that he only gave general political supervision, and the detail work about the financial matters was in charge of Leo Baroway.

Q. Being in charge of all underground apparatus for the entire district and all financial matters and related things, he was a pretty important member of the Party?

A. Yes, he was a pretty important member of the Party, a very important and busy member.

Q. Would his activities in the field of underground apparatus of the Party bring him in contact with members of the Soviet Union from time to time, or do you know?



A. From my general knowledge of the Party, having been a district organizer and participated in Central Committee meetings, I think I am qualified to say that his position as a member of the Control Commission and as a member of the underground apparatus would bring him into such contact.

Q. You don't know of any specific instance of any contact being made?

A. No, I don't know of any specific instance of such contact being made.

Q. You don't know of any specific instance of any contact being made between Rudy Lambert and representatives of the Soviet Union?

A. No, I don't know of any specific instance, of my own knowledge.

Q. Now, that question, of course, was directed to you with regard to his activities for the entire district.

A. Yes, with reference to the entire district, as I understand the question, that is to District 13.

Q. Yes, District 13; you understand that?

A. Yes, I understand that.

Q. Let us take Louise Todd, the wife of Rudy Lambert. What was her particular specialty in the district?

A. She was a member of the organizational department, and in charge of the dues, payments, and recruiting and functioning of the Party, of the Party committees, and also to some extent in charge of such educational matters as came under her general jurisdiction, schools and classes, etc.

Q. How about Walter Lambert?

A. Walter Lambert was the head of the Trade Union Department, and his work was the supervision and jurisdiction of the unions under Party control; to supervise the Party's fractions and to see that the Party line was carried through the unions and the individuals and to make them conform with the Party's interest and the Party's purpose and the Party line, and to keep the unions in line with the District Bureau's decisions and the committee's decisions and to see that the District Bureau decisions with reference to the trade union members were carried through.

Q. You spoke of apparatus, in connection with Communist Party terminology; there is also a similar term in Communist parlance—'apparat'?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you explain the difference between those two words?

A. It is a matter of common usage or established practice. There is no—you will not find a formal definition anywhere, but in established practice in Party circles the words 'apparat' is a term generally used in reference to the police, and what used to be the NKVD and now the MVD organization that exists throughout the Party, and parallel with it in this Country.

Q. That is the Russian secret police?

A. Yes, that is the Russian secret police, and it refers to the foreign division of the Russian secret police. An 'apparatus' simply means an organized mechanism or the machinery of the Party in any field, especially with reference to local matters. That refers to 'apparatus.'

Q. Now, when you speak of 'underground practice' or 'underground apparatus' that is simply a Marxian or Communist term for underground as distinguished from open and above ground activities of the Party?

A. Yes, that is correct. It is the opposite of above ground.

Q. And when you speak of 'apparat' you refer to the foreign division of the Russian secret police?

A. Yes. One wouldn't say 'an apparat.' You always refer to 'the apparat,' since it is a Russian term and it wouldn't be used only as referring to the foreign section of the Russian secret police.

Q. When you refer to 'doing special work for the Party,' what would you understand a person to mean when he said that; if he said, 'I am doing special work,' what would that mean?

A. Special work almost invariably means that they are part of the apparat or the Russian secret police agencies in this country and that they have dropped all public Communist work in order to devote their full time to this particular work, or whatever the international special work is. It might not be a direct employment, but might refer to indirect employment. In other words, an individual might not be receiving pay; he may be making a living in industry or something of this kind and still be taking orders. But usually the people doing special work are full time agents of the Russian secret police in this country.

Q. What was the particular specialty in which Steve Nelson excelled?

A. Steve Nelson's official position at the time and after the time that he succeeded me over here was county organizer for the Communist Party of Alameda County. And at the same time Steve Nelson was known as a full lieutenant-colonel in the Republican Spanish Army and was considered an expert on all military affairs; and he was considered to be very reliable in the Party's point of view and very secretive; and he was frequently consulted and closely associated with Rudy Lambert in connection with the underground and all secret matters.

Q. That was his particular specialty, was it?

A. Yes, that was his particular specialty."

## ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST PARTY, ALAMEDA COUNTY

A great deal has been written about the part played by the Communist Party in the fomenting of strikes and riots. It is rare, indeed, that committees such as this have an opportunity to question under oath a former member of the Communist Party who occupied a high position which enabled him to speak with authority concerning the over-all Party

strategy in turning these strikes on and off by manipulating Communist-dominated unions at will. Believing that the average reader of reports such as this can derive a great deal more benefit in reading the actual testimony, word for word, instead of a condensation thereof, the committee quotes liberally from the testimony of Mr. Crouch, and sets forth his comments concerning Party-dominated strikes in its entirety, as follows:

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you know a John Morgan in the Party?

A. Yes, I knew John Morgan in the Party very well.

Q. But generally as a member in Alameda County?

A. Yes, he was in Alameda County.

Q. What were his particular duties?

A. His particular duties during 1941, after I had arrived here on May 1st, were in connection—first of all his duties were with an effort to apply the Communist Party line to his own union, Local 1304 of the Steelworkers Union, and to direct work in Alameda County with a John Harvey of San Francisco, who was working as district supervisor of all work in the shipyards; and he assisted with this and worked directly under Harvey. John Morgan was in general charge of all such work in the county.

Q. So he was in the trade union field?

A. It was entirely in connection with the Party and trade union matters.

Q. Now, during the fall of 1941 you saw John Morgan and Rudy Lambert from time to time, did you not?

A. I saw John Morgan all during the period from May 9th up to the 1st of July—it was at least four times a week and sometimes seven times a week.

Q. In what connection did you see him?

A. I saw him in connection with the East Bay machinist's strike.

Q. Was the Communist Party interested in that strike?

A. It was certainly interested and it exercised a lot of indirect influence from the Party point of view. Unfortunately, it wasn't able to exercise the power it would have liked, if it could have gotten the union under its control, but it certainly did its best.

Q. You, of course, were the county organizer?

A. Yes, I was the county organizer.

Q. When did the strike occur, Mr. Crouch?

A. My best recollection is that it started about the 9th of May, 1941. I cannot fix the precise date from memory, but it was around May 8th or 9th.

Q. What was your Communist Party contact in the union?

A. Our contacts in Union 1304 were, it was the one weak link in Alameda County, and we ran practically every other C. I. O. union in the county, and we completely ran the C. I. O. Council, but it was Local 1304, in view of the anti-Communist position of its business agent, Mr. Smith, who was the only important C. I. O. official who opposed us.

Q. What was his full name?

A. James Smith. He was the only important C. I. O. official of Alameda County at that time who was anti-Communist, and the only other important official who wasn't Communist was Delaney of Local 1798, but we had a Communist business agent in his local, Jack Childs; and when Childs resigned he was succeeded by another man, and at this time Oakland was surrounded by rank and file Communists, and officials in the unions, and we were after Mr. Smith who was surrounded by this rank and file; but at this time we had only one important person in his local at that time and that was John Morgan; and in connection with influencing the strike and trying to sell it and put our ideas across we were limited to two methods: one, what Morgan would do by influencing other members of the strike committee of his union; and two, what influence we could exercise by Paul Schlipf, the president—not the president, but the secretary-treasurer of the C. I. O. Council, and of course, he, as a Communist Party member, met almost daily with me; and in order to get things across, we would take the matters up with the Party majority in the C. I. O. Council, and Paul put across this or that idea, of course, speaking for himself or speaking in the name of the C. I. O. Council; and of course, he didn't reveal to Mr. Smith the fact that he was acting for the Communist Party. And John Morgan informed me that one person that he was able to influence to some extent to his way of thinking in concrete detail with reference to the Communist Party line was a man by the name of Fred Adams. I never met Mr. Adams, and I know him only from reports from John P. Morgan. And I discussed with Morgan whether he could be recruited into the Party, and Morgan said that he didn't think he could, but said that he was a personal friend, and we even discussed whether he could talk to this little fellow or that little fellow on this question over the strike, and how it should be conducted and how long it could be prolonged. We were not trying to influence it in any certain course, and it seemed very minute and very detailed, and yet they were important to us for certain reasons because we were interested in prolonging the strike in any way we could.

Q. Did you know if John Morgan had concealed his Communist Party affiliation from Mr. Smith?

A. Yes, of course; I don't know whether Mr. Smith suspected it, but I understand later from published reports that he did. I understand and know that John P. Morgan followed the Party line, but whether his Communist affiliation was uncovered I don't know, because I soon left the Party.

Q. How long did that strike last?

A. As I recall the strike started about the time, to the best of my recollection, it was around the eighth, ninth, or tenth of May, and I believe that it ended about the first or second of July, just about one week after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union.

Q. When the strike ended, it had been in existence how long?

A. From May, from about the ninth or tenth, until June 22d, that is, before the attack and after June 22d to July 1st after the attack.



Q. Now, the Party line before the attack on the Soviet Union was to hamper the production of war materials in this country, was it not?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. And after June 22, 1941, it was just the reverse wasn't it?

A. Yes, it was.

C. The Soviet Union was invaded, and the Communists, who were that day and previously fomenting strikes, disturbances and picket lines, became important collaborators—within one week this machinist's strike was ended?

A. Yes. And to prevent any misconception, I would like to make it clear in this connection, I don't mean to imply that the demands of the union, Local 1304 were not, in a sense, honest or that the strike was not caused primarily over basic economic issues; but the fact remains that the Party welcomed the strike and was glad to see it; and while ostensibly they were trying to aid the strike they were actually using every occasion they could to influence or prolong the strike. In other words, the Party was very sorry to see this strike limited to the machinists only, and they did everything conceivable to try to bring the other industries and the shipyards into it. And I think an examination and a careful study of the newspapers would show that on a certain date, I cannot recall the exact date, John Morgan reported to Walter Lambert and me that there was a probability that the company was going to give in and that the strike would be settled. We didn't desire to see this, because the end of the strike would mean the stepping up of defense production. And on one occasion I distinctly remember that as many as 50 people were sent over by the Party organization in San Francisco, primarily from the waterfront, to the Oakland picket line with specific instructions to use strong-arm tactics and to try to seize opportunity to create any little fight and to try to turn over any cars they could; the idea being, that if they could infuriate the company and the police officers they might change the atmosphere. All the Party feared at this time was that the strike might end. Now, this, of course—and there is the danger of misconception in my testimony—this doesn't mean that 99 percent of the membership of Local 1304 were not loyal Americans and that the strike was not honest. The strike demand might possibly be justified. I have no knowledge if the strike was on economic issues, and I don't know whether it was justified or not. The Party was interested, and so was I, to further its own ends, and it wasn't acting in the interest of the workers. But the Party used, definitely used, every method it could to bring about the end of the strike, and all strikes, after June 22, 1941; and I think that a study will show that all strikes in relation to this State, in which the C. I. O. Council was interested and which was headed by Communists, that is the San Francisco, Alameda and Los Angeles County C. I. O. Councils—and although the statistics will speak for themselves, it would show that from the first of January until the 22d of June the number of strikes in defense industries, compared to strikes in defense industries from June 22d up to Pearl Harbor, would show five times as many strikes before as there were after June 22, 1941.



## NORTH AMERICAN AVIATION STRIKE

Q. Do you know about the North American Aviation strike in Inglewood?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Did you have anything to do with that?

A. Yes, the District Bureau was receiving reports every week and sometimes at special meetings between regular sessions, meetings in between; Mr. Walter Lambert, who almost shuttled back and forth between San Francisco and Inglewood during that period, would bring to the District Bureau reports of the situation in the field from Party officials of the Auto Union, who were leading it, and the picture at Inglewood was quite different from the machinist strike up here. They carried out, without any question, every order that we, of the District Bureau, formulated. Every order was carried out by Communists on the job who were leading the strike.

Q. Did you personally have conferences with Walter Lambert about methods to be used to prolong the North American strike?

A. Only in the District Bureau, and in the District Bureau we discussed it at length and in detail.

Q. Did you have such conversations with John Morgan?

A. Do you mean in connection with the East Bay strike?

Q. Yes.

A. During the East Bay strike, I met or saw them every day when it was possible, and I met them, John P. Morgan and Schlipf, but usually Morgan would meet with me and Walter Lambert under the trees around Lake Merritt, and on the days when the strike situation was such that he was busy and couldn't get away—when he was busy or tied up, he would meet me later, at night, if he was on an important matter; sometimes John Harvey, in the downtown apartment of James Freeman, who is now Communist Party Secretary of the Hawaiian Islands, and who was a close friend of mine and also a close friend of John P. Morgan.

Q. Now, when did the North American strike end?

A. The end of that strike took place, the final settlement took place just shortly after June 22d.

Q. 1941?

A. Yes, 1941.

Q. Now, in the fall of 1941, did Rudy Lambert, to your knowledge, have anything to do with the Shell Development Corporation in Alameda County?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. What was that?

A. Well, in the first place, Rudy Lambert came up to the office and went out with Kenneth May and me and I saw him frequently with Kenneth May, and he was with him when the first branch at the Shell Development took place, and he frequently went with him to the business meetings there. Nevertheless, I would say at the same time the ones I attended—I attended a number of meetings of that particular branch of

the Shell Development Company, but my meetings were entirely for the purpose of giving political reports and no business matters were taken up when I was present.

Q. Did you discuss with Rudy Lambert the establishment of a Communist unit at the Shell Development Company?

A. He referred to it in a conversation with me and an Italian person, and in general terms, in the Party office; but he didn't go into any conversation specifically or any great detail. He spoke of it as a very important step of the Party."

From the foregoing testimony of Mr. Crouch the committee was able to obtain a clear picture of the technique exercised by the Communist Party of Alameda County in prolonging a serious strike of machinists at a time when the defense effort of the United States would be most gravely hampered, a time when it was vital to the preservation of the country that every effort be made to speed our defense effort on all fronts. This, of course, meant absolutely nothing to the Communist Party of California. Mr. Crouch, as head of the Party for the entire county in which the strike took place, and also in his capacity as a member of the governing body for all of California, Arizona, and the Hawaiian Islands, was in a unique position to know a great deal about the operation of this particular strike. The complete indifference of the Communist Party to the demands of the workers, their general welfare or the interests of the United States stands out in bold and grim relief as recited in the testimony of Mr. Crouch. It is quite plain to see that the Communist Party was solely interested in carrying out the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. During the period of the nonaggression pact between Russia and Germany the Communist Party in this country was instructed to do everything possible to deter and confuse the American defense effort. Immediately upon the invasion of the Soviet Union by the German armies on June 22, 1941, the Party line immediately changed and it henceforth became important for the Communist Party in the United States to shut off the strikes it had started, and to do everything possible to assist the American defense effort—not for the purpose of helping the United States, but for the sole purpose of throwing the weight of this country on the side of the Soviet Union in resisting an attack from the forces of Nazi Germany. We all know, now, that immediately after the hostilities ceased and the peace treaties were being drawn and the unfortunate agreements were being concluded with the Soviet Union, Russia resumed her old hostility toward the United States and her attempts to realize the basic goal of Marxism in attaining the triumph of the international Communist revolution and the crushing of all non-Communist countries in the world.

The extent to which the Communists had succeeded in capturing highly placed officials in the CIO Councils throughout California should come with a distinct shock to every American citizen. It should make us stop and wonder whether or not undercover members of the Communist Party apparatus are still highly placed in the trade union movement up and down the Pacific Coast, ready to do the bidding of the Communist

Party district leaders when the occasion demands. It is a comparatively simple matter to remove from sensitive positions those Communist Party members who, by their overt activities over a period of years, have given indication of the direction in which their sympathies lie. The Communist Party, however, has been preparing for a period of many years against the time when the Party might be outlawed or driven completely underground, by developing a large number of so-called unknown members, who have been strongly entrenched in important positions so that they can operate freely, although undercover, and will be extremely difficult to detect.

## ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES IN ALAMEDA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

### INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF ARCHITECTS, ENGINEERS, CHEMISTS AND TECHNICIANS

Rudy Lambert and Kenneth May were instrumental in planting a branch of the Alameda County Communist Party deep in the heart of the Shell Development Company's plant at Emeryville, California, in the fall of 1941. The members of this group were, of course, scientists. They also belonged to Chapter 25 of the FAECT (Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians CIO), an organization so tremendously important in the field of atomic espionage that it deserves particular attention.

In 1946 this committee held a hearing at Oakland. At least half of the time devoted to that hearing dealt with the activities of the FAECT in Alameda County. For some inexplicable reason the press paid slight attention to this matter. The committee supposed that proof of the fact that the FAECT originated in the Lenin School of Espionage in Moscow and comprised a great many highly trained scientists who were also members of the Communist Party would provoke considerable attention. Documents were identified as the official minutes of the executive committee of this organization, and excerpts from them were read into the transcript. It was established beyond the slightest doubt that it was Communist-dominated from top to bottom and that it was primarily interested in infiltrating and organizing the personnel in the Radiation Laboratory at the University of California in Berkeley, where vital atomic research was carried on.

Ordinary common sense indicated to the committee that if it could produce proof during the 1946 hearing in Oakland to the effect that an American Communist, a highly trained scientist, was sent on a special mission to take a course in the Espionage School in Moscow, returned to the United States and gathered together a small army of scientifically trained Communists, and organized them into a union known as the FAECT; if proof were produced to the effect that a chapter of that union was planted in Alameda County, California in 1939 and that in 1943 that chapter's own documents disclosed its fear of detection by the Federal

Bureau of Investigation, its longing for a Soviet America and its efforts to infiltrate and propagandize the atomic bomb project of the University of California—that this would provoke widespread attention throughout the State. It didn't in 1946, so the committee is now adding the 1950 testimony of Mr. Crouch and trying once more, in the fervent belief that these facts should be given the widest publicity.

### MARCEL SCHERER

While Paul Crouch was imprisoned in Alcatraz Island he received a letter from a man by the name of Marcel Scherer who was then residing in New York City. From the time of Crouch's incarceration at Alcatraz in 1925 until he was released in 1927 these two men kept up their correspondence. Many Communists and radicals wrote to Crouch while he was serving his sentence. He was a martyr, a class hero, a proletarian who was suffering for the masses and was therefore the object of the adulation which invariably is displayed by the Party in such cases. The Tom Mooney case is a good example of this sort of hero worship.

Crouch and Scherer did not actually meet until 1927. By that time Crouch had also received several letters from Scherer's first wife Sarah, and had learned that Marcel was an industrial chemist of considerable ability.

As soon as he was released from Alcatraz Crouch went to New York and there met the Scherers. Crouch had naturally assumed that his friends were Communists, but he was now amazed to discover that Marcel Scherer was extremely high in the Party. In response to a question concerning the nature of Scherer's work he gave the following replies:

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): What was the nature of his Communist Party work, if you know?

A. His Communist Party work, starting about 1928—in fact, it was his own idea to start with, and it was approved by the Central Committee, for building an apparatus outside, an apparatus for the purpose of freeing the hands of the Communist Party; and with the backing of the Central Committee he built this apparatus and was head of it during the entire time that I was in the Communist Party. It was a special department of the Party, responsible only to the Politburo and in charge of all work in scientific circles, technicians, chemists, etc., throughout the United States.

Q. Do you know whether or not Marcel Scherer ever went to the Soviet Union?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. Do you know whether or not he ever attended the Lenin School?

A. He told me that he did.

Q. Did you ever live in his home?

A. I wouldn't exactly call it living in his home. I spent weekends there, and I was a very frequent weekend guest or evening guest of Marcel Scherer and his first wife, Lena, before their divorce; I don't mean Lena, I mean Sarah; Lena is his second wife.

Q. What was her name before she married him, do you know?

A. Lena was the lady's first name; she was Lena Chernenko of Passaic, New Jersey, and she first became prominent in the strike there, and she also corresponded with me while I was in Alcatraz. She later changed her name from Lena Chernenko to Lena Davis, and under that name she served as district organizer of the Communist Party of New Jersey, and for part of this time she was with the Politburo, following her return from the Lenin School in Moscow.

Q. She attended the Lenin School at Moscow?

A. Yes, she attended the Lenin School in Moscow.

Q. Was she a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

A. Yes, she was a member of the Communist Party of the United States.

Q. At the same time she was married to Marcel Scherer?

A. Yes, my belief is that she was married to, her marriage to Marcel Scherer took place about the end of 1929, just before they both went to Europe as students at the Lenin School. That is my best information. I believe that it was about that time.

Q. Now, after you left New York did you have any further contact with Marcel Scherer?

A. Yes, I did. First of all, I was called to New York the rest of the time I was in the Party, when I was district organizer for various states, and I was called to New York about once every three months if my work permitted, and there I usually saw Marcel Scherer, and sometimes we had dinner together and we always talked at length; and later on I met him and his wife, Lena, in Mexico City when my wife and I were down there in August, in July and August of 1939; and, then I saw him in New York, in November of 1940, I believe the date was, at a convention.

Q. What kind of a convention?

A. It was a special convention of the Communist Party called for the purpose of discussing the legality of the Party, and what was to be done. And the next time that I saw him was in California.

Q. When was that?

A. In August of 1941.

Q. Did he ever tell you what he was doing in California?

A. He didn't put it in so many words but he discussed work in connection with the Radiation Laboratory and Shell Development Co., and he was almost invariably in company with Rudy Lambert when he came into the Party office.

Q. Do you know whether he made any contact with Kenneth May during that period?

A. Yes, I know he made contact with Kenneth May during that period, and sometimes he accompanied him and they worked together.

Q. At that time Kenneth May and Rudy Lambert were in charge of the Special Section of the Party?

A. Yes, they were in charge of the Special Section."

After Mr. Scherer had returned from his intensive course in espionage activities at the Lenin School in Moscow, he went to Monroe County,



New York, and there started an organization which he called The Union of Technical Men. This organization purported to be a sort of recreational movement for scientific personnel and federal employees. Actually it was simply a clearing house for Communist Party activities on the espionage level. If a member was a Gentile he was required to take and read the *Daily Worker* and if he happened to be of the Jewish persuasion he was required to read the *Freiheit*, which was the Jewish-Communist counterpart of the *Daily Worker*.

It was not long until the name of the organization was changed to The International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians. Then, with the enthusiastic assistance of such trustworthy and veteran Communists as Carl Winter and many others, Scherer organized chapters of the F. A. E. C. T. throughout the United States and in parts of Canada. The enormous significance of this enterprise to the safety and welfare of the people of the United States is difficult to over-emphasize. Here, indeed, was an institution which had its origin in the international espionage school at Moscow. It was launched by an American Communist Party member, highly indoctrinated and thoroughly trained as an industrial chemist. Members of the F. A. E. C. T. were placed in laboratories, factories, at drafting boards, in shipyards and chemical plants throughout the length and breadth of the Country. The activities of this organization were shrouded in a cloud of impenetrable secrecy, and as soon as the individual members of the F. A. E. C. T. were thoroughly entrenched in sensitive positions, they were admirably placed for the purpose of rendering espionage service to the Soviet Union as sources of information of the most critical value.

In 1939 Chapter 25 of the F. A. E. C. T. was established in Alameda County, California. This was two years, it must be remembered, before Mr. Crouch assumed his duties as organizer in charge of all Communist Party activities for that county. It has already been emphasized that Rudy Lambert's specialty, like that of Steve Nelson, lay in the field of intrigue, espionage, and underground Communist Party activities. It remains to be stated that the same is true of Mr. Kenneth May.

May, while employed on the faculty of the University of California in Berkeley, was exposed as a Communist Party member. He admitted his affiliation and was discharged by the University. He immediately emerged as one of the most important and fanatic Communists in California, and the committee has ample evidence from a number of ex-Party members to substantiate that fact. No more proof, however, is needed concerning the activities of Mr. May in the Party than the fact that he and Rudy Lambert were selected to head the super-secret underground apparatus which was known in Party circles as the Special Section.

The committee realizes, of course, that descriptions of underground activities on the part of Communists sound very much like cloak and dagger hysteria to the average American layman who has had no experience along these lines. The committee can only state in the utmost sincerity and with the hope that revelations in the field of espionage in this Country will operate to make our people realize that such activities do go on in

secrecy, and that all of the material presented in this report can be completely and thoroughly documented by sworn testimony and duly authenticated documents in the committee's possession. It is quite obvious that in a work of this nature it would be quite impossible and completely impracticable to document every single factual statement in the report. In the event qualified persons are interested in pursuing any of these matters further, they are invited to make an appointment to go over that part of the documentation in which they are particularly interested.

### BRANCHES OF SPECIAL SECTION

Let us now turn back to the 1950 testimony of Mr. Crouch in order to determine the nature of Special Section of the Communist Party in Alameda County.

"Q. (Mr. Combs): Did you discuss with Rudy Lambert the establishment of a Communist unit at the Shell Development Corporation?

A. He referred to it in a conversation with me and an Italian person, and in general terms, in the Party offices; but he didn't go into any conversation specifically or any great detail. He spoke of it as a very important step of the Party.

Q. Bernadette Doyle, you knew her in the Party?

A. Yes, I knew her in the Party, and I first met her in this branch, and I didn't know her name, but I talked with her and made a political appraisal of her; and later on I made inquiry as to what her name was when I received a request from the District for certain assignments and I found that she was a person that was often consulted about Party matters.

Q. Proceed.

A. And the second branch was the professional branch—doctors, dentists, druggists, and so on; and as far as that particular branch is concerned I never learned the names of any persons except one attorney, except an attorney by the name of Frank Pestana.

Q. You mean, here in Oakland?

A. Yes, I mean here in Oakland. And the third branch was university professors at the University of California. And the fourth branch was employees of the Radiation Laboratory, the chemical research workers and allied fields connected with the University of California. And later on, about the first of September, 1941, the fifth branch was organized, the one to which I previously referred as the Shell Branch.

Q. What was the purpose of the formation of these several branches of the Special Section—what was your over-all Communist objective in building these particular branches?

A. The purpose with regard to these particular branches was to be able to infiltrate government positions, and in the case of the University professors and the Radiation Laboratory to infiltrate there, and the purpose was, obviously, to be able to obtain the largest number possible of reliable and devoted Communists in a strategic field should any revolutionary conditions come about, because of war or something of that kind,

they would be able to cripple national defense, and also in addition it would be possible, obviously, in connection with all of this work to be able to obtain knowledge of all scientific developments for the purpose of keeping the Soviet Union informed and up-to-date.

Q. Was that done, to your knowledge?

A. Yes, sufficient number of facts came to my knowledge to enable me to know that they had general knowledge in the Party, and I know that it was being done.

Q. Now, Mr. Crouch, you were a functionary in the Party for 17 years, as you testified?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. You were a member of the District Bureau—one of the most important units of the Communist organization of the United States?

A. Yes.

Q. And that covered California, Arizona, and the Hawaiian Islands?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. Basing your answer to this question on your experience, do you believe that a Soviet official interested in obtaining secret and confidential defense information from the United States Government would consider using as his emissary any person other than a most highly disciplined and trusted member of the Communist Party?

A. He certainly would not. The question is so obvious. Anyone who would be trusted with an assignment of this kind by an official of the Soviet Government certainly would be a part of the Soviet Government, or a person who would be disciplined and loyal to the Party.

Q. By the same token, if an individual who was doing technical research work of great potential value to a potential enemy was to be consulted and asked for secret information, what type of emissary would the Party select through this Special Section apparatus that you just described to try and get such confidential information? Of course, he would have to get it from somebody, the person contacted, some person in scientific or research engineering would have to be contacted by this emissary and asked for such secret information; now what type of person would be consulted if that sort of information was requested?

A. They would consult the one they considered to be the most loyal to the Party and who was in a position to have the knowledge they desired."

Having established Mr. Crouch's intimate association with Marcel Scherer, the founding father of the F. A. E. C. T., it became important that the committee develop as accurately the possible extent of the Special Section organization in Alameda County and as much of its activities as could be obtained from documentary sources and the testimony of the witnesses who appeared before the committee in Oakland at the hearing in May, 1950. It is important to bear in mind that Mr. Crouch severed his connections with the Communist Party while he was still a top functionary in California, and that he was replaced as organizer for Alameda

County by a man who during his entire membership in the Party specialized in espionage and underground activities. In that connection Mr. Crouch testified as follows:

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): About how many people were in the Special Section at the time that you knew Marcel Scherer here in California, that is, in 1941?

A. I already stated that in December or, rather, the first of January, 1942, when Steve Nelson replaced me, the figure at that time was 60 members in the Special Section, and I would assume that the section was, perhaps, 10 less than that when I first met Marcel Scherer—when I met Marcel Scherer in August, it was about 50 members.

Q. Now, having testified, Mr. Crouch, that Marcel Scherer's idea was to form a group of scientists and technicians into an organization, and bearing in mind that he went to the Lenin School, and bearing in mind that he was in California for 18 months commencing in the summer of 1941, concerning which the testimony was developed during a previous hearing that the committee held in this building, what conclusion would you draw as to the purpose of his 18-month visit here commencing in the summer of 1941?

A. Well, the first conclusion, certainly, is that developments in California and in the scientific field in connection with chemists and physicists and others of similar experience, were more important than anywhere else in the United States, and recalling the continued presence of—requiring the continued presence of the national head of the Party's department of work along scientific and technical lines—I think it was something that would be obvious, that it was something of unusual importance, for him to come out to California and which would require his presence for such a long length of time.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of Rose Segure?

A. Yes, absolutely.

Q. Was she a member of the Party?

A. Yes, she was.

Q. Do you know whether or not she replaced Marcel Scherer as an officer in the scientists union after he left in 1941?

A. Not of my own personal knowledge, but as part of the record I think there is some mistake in the date, because Marcel Scherer was here again in November and December of 1941, and I have never seen Marcel Scherer since the first week of January in 1942, when I turned my work over to Steve Nelson; and I have no knowledge of how much longer he stayed here. I have read, and I have heard, in trade union circles also that Rose Segure succeeded him, but I don't have any personal knowledge about it. I don't know that of my own personal knowledge, but I heard it.

Q. She testified in 1946 that she did succeed him as organizer for the FAECT.

A. Yes.

Q. And a publication that was introduced among the exhibits states that he was here for 18 months beginning in the summer of 1941.



A. That is, starting or ending with 1941?

Q. It says that he was here for 18 months in 1941.

A. I don't know about that. I have no knowledge about that.

Q. Now, you say that you met Mr. Scherer in Mexico in 1939?

A. Yes, I met Marcel Scherer in Mexico in 1939.

Q. Where did you meet him?

A. I met him at a Communist organized public meeting in Mexico City.

Q. Did you meet him by prearrangement or by coincidence?

A. It was entirely by coincidence. As a matter of fact, he was sitting just on the right, with his wife, in front of me; it was entirely by coincidence.

Q. Did you ever see him over in the headquarters of the Communist Party in Mexico City, later?

A. I saw him a few days later in the headquarters of the Communist Party at which time I was visiting the Party headquarters on some official work.

Q. What were you doing in Mexico?

A. I was at that time an editor of *New South*, the Communist Party organ for the southern states, and I was in Mexico to make a study of conditions and to obtain material; and also to study the work of the Mexican Party with a view of having a close coordination between it and the Communist Party organization in the southern states.

Q. Did you have a conversation with Mr. Scherer in the Communist Party headquarters in Mexico City?

A. It was very brief and it was very general; he didn't tell me his specific work, and I didn't ask him. The conversation was general, and nothing about any specific questions.

Q. Did he tell you that he intended to go to California?

A. I didn't ask him.

Q. Was his wife with him on that occasion?

A. Yes, she was.

Q. That is Lena Chernenko, who was formerly Lena Davis—Lena Davis?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. Was Lena Davis her true name or adopted by her, or do you know?

A. Lena Davis was an assumed name, like Eugene Dennis; his name is assumed and it used to be Frank Waldron.

Q. What was the purpose of having a Special Section?

A. There were two sections; there were two sections, which were in effect a parallel division of the Industrial Section, which concerned the Red C. I. O. branch, and the Red A. F. of L. branch; there was an automobile branch, and various other branches according to the industry or plant concerned. The Special Section was composed of members whose identity must be protected at all costs.



Q. Why was that necessary?

A. Because of their importance to the Party, and because of the strategic jobs that they held.

Q. You had—you didn't issue any membership cards or books in 1941, did you?

A. No.

Q. So the mere fact that a person was not a Communist in the formal sense, in the sense that he had no membership book that would link him to the Party, didn't indicate that he couldn't be a dangerous person—because he was in a strategic position; is that correct?

A. The fact that the books were not issued was to protect the entire membership. It was simply as a matter of protection. Members of the other branches met together; but even after the meeting I referred to on July 13th, we called a membership meeting where there were representatives of the entire county membership, with the exception of the Special Section; but even after the Party line had changed we never brought the members of that Special Section into meetings with other members of the Party.

Q. So that while you didn't issue any books at all, so that the identity and affiliations of all the Communist Party members would be concealed as far as possible—so far as the members of the Special Section was concerned their identities were so carefully guarded that they were not even known to other members of the Communist Party in this county?

A. Yes, they even went beyond that. The names of the members were so closely guarded in everything that even when it was necessary for me to know, I, as county organizer, to know the names of a very few, those matters were kept from me; for example, I would say, when I turned the county organizer job over to Steve Nelson in January, 1942, there were 60 members of the Special Section at that time, and I didn't know the names of any more than five members, at the most, out of the 60 members.

Q. Who was the Communist Party functionary who had charge of the Special Section?

A. First of all, there was the Section organizer, Libby Burke, who represented that section on the County Bureau and who carried back the usual Bureau decisions and gave us reports on organizational matters connected with this section; and she was associated in some of this work by a Party leader whose name, I believe, was Kitty Griffith, and I understand she was later known as Kitty Griffith Stewart. But most of this work received the supervision of, first of all, from Kenneth May, one of the three members of the secretariat. You see, we had our responsibilities divided; I had certain responsibilities and Kenneth May had certain responsibilities, and I previously testified regarding education in the Special Section, and Kenneth May operated primarily under Rudy Lambert, who had charge of all underground work in the district. And Rudy

Lambert would come over there frequently and sometimes several times a week, and he was working with Kenneth May in connection with the Special Section.

Q. So actually the Special Section matters would be controlled by or were in charge of Kenneth May and Rudy Lambert?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. Now, Mr. Crouch, was it a part of your duties to give political reports to the Special Section, as well as to the other sections of the Party in Alameda County?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. One of the people in charge of the Special Section would pick you up and take you to these meetings?

A. Yes, Kenneth May.

Q. He did that regularly, did he?

A. Yes, he did."

In connection with the testimony of Mr. Crouch, the committee read into the record excerpts from testimony and reports issued by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities together with certain documents identified as being the minutes of Chapter 25 of the FAECT in Berkeley. From this evidence an accurate though complex story of Communist espionage and underground activity in Alameda County was unfolded.

The structure and operation of the Communist Party is such that it must of necessity place great confidence in a relatively small group of leaders. Those whose peculiar talents lie in the manipulation of front organizations for instance, ultimately become well known. Their names appear over and over again with monotonous regularity in an interminable array of fronts—always as officers or sponsors. And so it is with teachers in Party schools; with specialists in the recruiting of youths; with those specially trained for the infiltration of trade unions; with Communist lawyers who take every opportunity to turn a trial or a hearing into a forum for the making of speeches in the advancement of the class struggle. And so it is with the espionage apparatus and its leaders.

Steve Nelson and Rudy Lambert have for years been well-known as specialists in a sphere of activity that could be entrusted only to the most completely reliable, highly trained and disciplined Communists. Their work in the underground and espionage field brought them in contact with Soviet agents, and they naturally were required to take every possible precaution against counter-espionage measures on the part of our own governmental agencies. Such matters as mail drops, the use of codes and ciphers, the avoiding of surveillances, a constant vigilance against dictograph installations, tapped telephones and informants became almost second nature to them.

Nelson, particularly, having done extensive work abroad, having received special training in the Lenin School, and having served as a lieutenant-colonel in the Communist Brigade during the Spanish revolution, was deemed thoroughly capable of heading the espionage activities

in Alameda County with Lambert. He would normally be Lambert's superior in this type of work.

Kenneth May, because of his status as a former member of the faculty of the University at Berkeley and his many contacts in the university, was of invaluable assistance to Nelson and Lambert—who, of course, trusted him implicitly. May joined the Party at Berkeley, as did his wife, and was so active and highly indoctrinated that he soon became generally known as a Communist—which eventually led to his severance from the faculty.

By 1941 the Special Section was thoroughly organized. With branches at the Shell Development Company's plant in Emeryville, in the Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley, and among nuclear physicists and other scientists at the university, the espionage apparatus was set for action.

Chapter 25 of the FAECT had been operating in Berkeley since 1939, and with the beginning of intensive work on the atomic bomb, high-level direction was provided for the Special Section with the arrival of Marcel Scherer. In the meantime Crouch was being removed, little by little, from all contact with the Special Section, which would normally be under his jurisdiction, and all matters concerning it were being handled more and more by Nelson, Lambert and May. It was quite obvious to Crouch that he was being relegated to a position which was most unusual in matters of this kind. Whenever it became necessary for him, as county organizer, to deliver a political lecture to the various sections of the Party under his jurisdiction he would do so on his own volition. When, however, it was necessary for him to deliver a political lecture to the Special Section he was notified of the time that the lecture was to be delivered, picked up by Kenneth May or Rudy Lambert in an automobile and driven by a circuitous route to the place where the meeting was to be held. He was never told in advance the location of the meeting, and he delivered the lecture to a room full of strangers. He was never introduced to any of the members of the Special Section and only through accident was he able to recognize a handful of them, four or five, according to his testimony. There was nothing particularly unusual about this elaborate secrecy so far as the activities of the Special Section were concerned, but Crouch became considerably irked because he was not deemed reliable enough to handle the Special Section on the same basis that he handled the other sections of the Party under his control.

#### REMOVAL OF CROUCH

By 1941, the Special Section had become involved in such vital espionage activities that the Communist Party apparatus for District 13 deemed it unsafe to allow Crouch and his family to remain in northern California. Crouch, of course, was intimately acquainted with Marcel Scherer, Steve Nelson, Rudy Lambert, and Kenneth May; he had learned a great deal about the Special Section generally and had seen its members on those occasions when he was taken to meetings for the purpose of

delivering political lectures. His removal from the scene was deemed necessary in the interests of Communist security.

It is peculiarly characteristic of the Soviet way of doing things that just before some extraordinary activity of this nature, such as espionage, occurs, there is usually a purge of one kind or another; a purge that may range from a simple shifting of personnel to assassination. In the Soviet Union even the heads of the secret police, Menzhinsky, Yagoda, and Yezhov, were liquidated for the simple reason that they had learned too much. During the purge trials of 1935-1939 thousands of bureaucrats, functionaries and minor political officials were arrested by the Soviet secret police and liquidated simply because they were considered dangerous to the welfare of the Communist Party in Russia. In California the Party has been suspending and expelling members in large numbers ever since the last war for the purpose of eliminating the "politically unreliable," and more violent measures have been employed when the Party considered it necessary. Pursuant to this custom, the Crouches were being banished from the Berkeley scene because they knew too much.

Crouch's wife, Sylvia, joined the Young Communist League in April, 1929, and went with her husband from one state to another after they were married in September of that year. She was in charge of all Young Communist League activities for the States of Virginia, Utah, and North and South Carolina. Having come to California with her husband she was naturally familiar with his activities, and was with him on the several occasions when he lectured to members of the Special Section in Berkeley.

In December, 1941, Mrs. Crouch was working for the Western Die Casting Company in Alameda County when she learned that the District Committee had ordered the Crouch family to move to Los Angeles. She immediately went to San Francisco for a conference with the district organizer, William Schneiderman. At the hearing in Oakland Mrs. Crouch described that conference as follows:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you receive a request by anybody, any official in the Party, to leave your residence and your employment and move to some other part of the State?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. From whom did you receive that request?

A. Early in December, shortly after I had obtained employment at the Western Die Casting Company, I would say about two or three weeks, I am not sure of the date, I was informed by my husband that a decision had been made by the District Committee of the Communist Party that we were to leave Alameda County and go to Los Angeles to live.

Q. What did you do then, if anything?

A. I informed my husband that I wasn't going to Los Angeles, and that I was employed in a defense industry, and this was after Pearl Harbor, and that I wasn't going to leave my job in the defense industry and go to Los Angeles; my children were in school and I had no intention of taking them out, and I had no intention of leaving my job and going to Los Angeles. I told my husband that I wasn't going to leave.



Q. Did you tell that to anyone else besides your husband?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. To whom did you tell it?

A. I informed the district organizer, William Schneiderman, about my views on that.

Q. Where were his offices at that time?

A. In San Francisco.

Q. Did you go over to San Francisco and talk with Mr. Schneiderman about that matter?

A. Yes, I went over to San Francisco and talked to Mr. Schneiderman about that matter.

Q. Did you have an appointment with him ahead of time?

A. When I informed my husband that I wasn't going to Los Angeles he notified the District Committee of this fact, that I refused to go, and he came back and told me that Mr. Schneiderman requested that I go over to San Francisco and have a talk with him and discuss it. At first I said, 'to heck with it,' and I said, 'I am not going'; and later, maybe a week later, I don't know, at least a week later, I decided that I would go over and discuss the matter with him.

Q. Which you did?

A. Yes, which I did.

Q. Where did the conversation with Mr. Schneiderman occur?

A. At the Party headquarters in San Francisco.

Q. In his office?

A. Yes, in his office.

Q. Was anybody else present?

A. There were others in and out but there wasn't anyone present during the whole conversation.

Q. Do you remember the substance of the conversation?

A. Yes, I remember the substance of the conversation but not the exact words.

Q. Would you repeat it, to the best of your recollection?

A. I went into the office of William Schneiderman, and then I walked in—

Q. Was this in the morning or in the afternoon?

A. I don't remember.

Q. Continue—was it in the evening?

A. It was not in the evening; it was during the day.

Q. Go ahead.

A. And I remarked that I went in and I said, 'I hear that you want to see me.' And he said, 'Yes.' And I said—that is he said, 'What is this that I hear about you refusing to go to Los Angeles, about your refusing to obey a Party order?' And he demanded an explanation and I said, 'Why should I go to Los Angeles?' And he said—I said, 'You just ordered me to go and you give no reason.' And then I said, 'I don't know any reason why I should quit my job in the defense industry just to go to Los Angeles just because of Party orders.' And he said something to the



effect, 'You have been in the Party a long time and you know about the discipline of the Party.' And I said, 'Yes.'

Q. You did know that, too, did you not?

A. Yes, I knew about it, I knew that very well. I was a disciplined Party member for a number of years; so I then demanded an explanation and he refused to give me any explanation and he said, 'As a Party member you should realize it is a Party order and you shouldn't even ask for an explanation.' And we moved around the country during those years and I told him that I wasn't going, that I wanted to remain on the job in the defense industry and to me that was more important than just an arbitrary order by the Party to go some place; and then, well, we had quite a session.

Q. Did you go to Los Angeles?

A. No, I didn't go to Los Angeles. I told him that I absolutely refused to go, and I said, and I told him that I wanted to remain on the defense job and join the union and be in the union and that I wasn't a member yet, and he made a remark to the effect that the best way to be effective in the union was to be a Party member in good standing; and he asked me to think it over and I replied that I didn't need to think it over and that I could tell him my opinion on the whole matter right now and that I had no intention of going.

Q. Did you tell him what you would do if your husband was sent, or if your husband went to Los Angeles?

A. Yes, I told him.

Q. That was during the same conversation?

A. Yes, at the same time; and I said that I had no intention of going to Los Angeles and if my husband went, and I didn't think my husband would go to Los Angeles, but if he did go that I was going to sue him for divorce and name the Party as correspondent; and his face turned red like as red as the Soviet flag, and I walked out and slammed the door.

Q. And I presume that terminated your membership in the Party?

A. Yes, it did, and I told him in very strong language where he and the Party could go as far as I was concerned, and I walked out.

Q. You didn't have any further conferences at this time, did you?

A. No, I didn't, but my husband made trips over there."

When a rank and file member of the Communist Party is expelled but nevertheless continues his firm adherence to the principles of Marxism, the Party usually leaves him strictly alone. If, on the other hand, he resigns from the Party because he is dissatisfied with it he is immediately subjected to the abuse and hounding from one job to another that has already been described. In the event a Party member has held official positions and thereby gained sufficient information to be a potential threat to the Party if he discloses what he knows, the Communist organization either takes drastic measures to insure his silence or leaves him alone in the belief that any half-way course might possibly provoke him to disclose his dangerous information.

In the case of the Crouch family they were simply allowed to drop out of Party activities. There were efforts made to win them back from time to time but they were subjected to no particular pressure. It was not until 1948 that Crouch brought himself to go to the government agencies and make his disclosures; and in fairness to him and to his wife it must be added that their revelations have been scrutinized with the utmost care by a great number of investigative agencies and so far as this committee has been able to ascertain their statements have been corroborated in every instance.

### ATOMIC ESPIONAGE

The diplomatic corps of every country affords an ideal vehicle for the conduct of espionage activities. The Germans used their diplomatic agencies in the United States as vehicles for espionage activities in the critical months immediately preceding the last war. The Germans had native sympathizers in the members of the German-American Bund to lean upon, but the Communist diplomats in the United States have access to a large body of traitors who have been developed with meticulous care for such an emergency as exists today.

Those Californians who have been fortunate enough to secure and read copies of the report of the Royal Canadian Commission concerning espionage in Canada realize that all of those activities were directed from the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa. The contacts with native Canadian scientists were such that the Communists who were entrenched in strategic places handed over atomic and other vital information to couriers who in turn delivered it to representatives of the Soviet Government. Embassies and consular offices use codes and couriers and diplomatic pouches as a part of their normal business, and it is an extremely simple matter, of course, to carry on subversive activities under the protection of diplomatic privilege.

The espionage activity in Alameda County, and in the Bay area, for that matter, was directed by Gregori Markovich Kheifets, a Soviet Vice Consul at San Francisco, whose cover name was "Brown;" Peter Ivanov, a Vice Consul in San Francisco, and Vassily Zubelin, Secretary to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C. Zubelin's cover name was "Cooper." These diplomatic officials maintained a close contact with Steve Nelson, who in turn gave directions to Lambert and May for the appropriate members of the Special Section to carry out.

It is necessary to bear in mind that Chapter 25 of the FAECT, which had functioned in Berkeley since 1939, had by 1941 become a branch of the Special Section of the Communist Party of Alameda County. This committee obtained evidence concerning the FAECT in general and Chapter 25 in particular at least two years before Crouch first contacted a government agency and made his disclosures. In questioning Crouch concerning the membership of the Special Section long prior to his appearance as a witness at the open hearing, he was told nothing of the information already in the possession of the committee, and

his identification of individuals who were active in Chapter 25 of the FAECT was fully corroborated by minutes of the executive committee of that organization.

### **Number 10 Kenilworth Court**

For several weeks before he testified Crouch was questioned in detail in an attempt to fix the places where he was taken to give his political lectures to members of the Special Section. The most important of these lectures was given in the summer of 1941, shortly after the Nazis invaded Russia in violation of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact. That incident, which abruptly occurred on June 22, 1941, was the signal for a complete change in the international Communist Party line, with suitable modifications to fit conditions in the various foreign countries.

Crouch, in his role as a top Communist functionary for Alameda County, explained the new Party line to all of his sections—including the various branches of the Special Section, which he addressed in July, 1941. On this occasion Kenneth May informed Crouch that he was to address the professional and Radiation Laboratory branches of the Special Section at an undisclosed address, picked Mr. and Mrs. Crouch up in an automobile after dark, and took them to a residence located high in the Berkeley hills.

At this point it should be explained that Crouch drew several diagrams of the exterior and interior of this house long before he appeared as a witness at the Oakland hearing. He was also taken over the entire Berkeley area time and time again in an effort to find the place, and it was not until he finally identified the house that the committee was able to learn who occupied it at the time Crouch was taken there to deliver his lecture to the two branches of the Special Section.

Once the premises had been positively identified, a comparison with the diagrams Crouch had previously drawn from memory established beyond question the complete accuracy of his description in every essential detail. He had drawn the location of the lane leading from the main road to the house, had described the materials from which the house was constructed, the adjacent grounds, the view of San Francisco Bay, the location of the fireplace in the living room, the location of doors and partitions and a wealth of other details, and he did all of this from memory weeks before he actually managed to locate the premises.

An examination of the utility bills and tax records in Alameda County then revealed that this residence, No. 10 Kenilworth Court, Berkeley, was owned by Professor Erle Loran, a member of the faculty of the University of California. A subpoena was immediately issued for Prof. Loran who was put on the stand without previously having been interviewed by anybody connected with this committee.

Professor Loran then testified as follows:

“Q. (By Mr. Combs): Your name is Erle Loran, and that is spelled E R L E?

A. Yes.

Q. You are a professor at the University of California, are you not?

A. Yes, I am a professor at the University of California.

Q. Professor Loran, where do you reside?

A. 10 Kenilworth Court.

Q. How long have you been a member of the faculty of the University of California?

A. I believe it is 13 years, since 1936.

Q. You are in the Art Department, are you not, professor of art?

A. Yes.

Q. How long have you been residing at 10 Kenilworth Court?

A. I believe the house was completed in 1939.

Q. And you have lived there continuously ever since?

A. Except for the period when it was rented.

Q. And following that, you rented it?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that?

A. It was in 1941 when I went to a semi-sabbatical and I was on a semi-sabbatical leave to New York City, and the house was rented at that time while I was away; until July.

Q. How long were you in New York on that occasion, about?

A. I would say about eight months.

Q. You rented your home before you left?

A. Yes, through the Mason-McDuffie Real Estate Co.

Q. Prior to the time that you left in 1941 to go to New York, professor, were you acquainted with Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer?

A. No, I wasn't. The first time I saw him was when he appeared with his Packard convertible in my driveway and asked if the house was rented, and he mentioned that the Mason-McDuffie Co. had sent him.

Q. You had not known him before that time?

A. No, I had not known him before that time, but I had heard of him, naturally, as a famous man.

Q. He, too, was employed at the university at that time, was he not?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Was his wife with him on that occasion?

A. Yes, I am quite certain that she was.

Q. You don't know how long before they came up to your home they had been married, did you?

A. Well, it was—well, whether I knew it then or not, I don't know, but it was for a short time, because I knew he wasn't married for, oh, some years previous to that.

Q. You did lease the property to him, did you not?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. And he moved in and lived there during the time that you were in New York, to the best of your knowledge?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. And he paid you rental, of course, for the premises?

A. Yes, he was very excellent in that respect.

Q. Now, during this time would you give us a physical description of the general locality in which your residence is located?

A. Well, Kenilworth Court is on Coventry Road about three blocks off Colusa Circle.

Q. It is in the Berkeley Hills, is it not?

A. Yes, it is in the Berkeley Hills, and, well, it is practically in Contra Costa County and by a canyon, and it is the dividing line between Alameda County and Contra Costa County.

Q. Is it at such an elevation that it affords a good view of the bay?

A. Yes, it is at such an elevation that it affords a good view of the bay, and I am very happy about that.

Q. Is it surrounded by trees?

A. Yes, it is surrounded by trees, and it is beautifully secluded.

Q. It is quite private, being secluded.

A. Yes, it is quite private, being secluded.

Q. And the approach to it is rather a circuitous road, a rather winding road?

A. Yes, on Coventry, and the driveway up to my house which is a one-way driveway.

Q. And your residence is situated some distance back from the road, is it not?

A. Yes, it is about 200 feet, I suppose, or more.

Q. Was your property leased to Dr. Oppenheimer in July of 1941?

A. Well, isn't that about the time I returned, around that? However, it was about eight months after that I remember coming back in August; yes.

Q. You returned in August?

A. Yes, I returned in August; I believe it was in August.

Q. Did you not return actually on or about August 11, 1941?

A. Yes, that sounds about right, because it fits in with the university about that time.

Q. Until you returned the house was rented during all of that period to Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know anything about the telephone arrangement—do you know whether or not your telephone was disconnected during the period of your absence, or shortly prior thereto, and then a new number was assigned to the tenant, to Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. Now, I don't just have any recollection about that, anything about the utilities at all.

Q. And you didn't pay the utilities during the period that your home was rented?

A. No, I did not.

Q. They were paid by Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. Yes.



Q. So that he was your tenant, with his wife, during the month of July, 1941, to the best of your knowledge?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Now, I have only one other question of you, Dr. Loran. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, I certainly have not.

Q. Do you have any objection to my asking you that question?

A. No; in this kind of a committee I see no reason why I should refuse to answer that question.

Q. You appreciate the fact, do you not, that this committee, operating in a somewhat controversial field, has no way to get evidence, such as the evidence you have given, except by serving the legal processes it is entitled to serve, and asking witnesses the facts they know of?

A. It seems to be established that legislative committees have the right to ask questions of their subpoenaed witnesses.

Q. You have no personal feeling, or feeling of repugnance, for this committee because you were asked a question about your affiliation with the Communist Party?

A. I think at this time it would have to be accepted in good grace.

Q. You have no such feeling?

A. No, in this situation I have no objection whatsoever.

Mr. Combs: Thank you very much, Professor Loran; I want to point out, Mr. Chairman, that the fact Professor Loran was subpoenaed certainly should carry no concept that he was suspected of any subversive activity of any kind. And there will be other witnesses also who have been subpoenaed and were not talked to before the time they were questioned, and they will be in the same category. At this time, I think I will ask that this witness may be excused.

Senator Dilworth: I think that Mr. Loran, Professor Loran, should be complimented on the readiness and frankness of his testimony.

Senator Burns: That is all. Thank you very much for your attendance and cooperation, Professor Loran."

Having thus established the fact that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and his wife had rented the premises at No. 10 Kenilworth Court and were living there in July, 1941, the testimony of Mr. and Mrs. Crouch concerning their presence at a meeting of the two branches of the Special Section of the Communist Party of Alameda County is of enormous significance. Mrs. Crouch first explained the isolation of the Special Section members from the general Alameda County Communist Party membership as follows:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): Do you know whether or not there were any members of the Special Section of the Communist Party of Alameda County present at this membership meeting of the Alameda County Communist Party?

Mrs. Crouch: No, I don't believe there were members of the Special Section present on the membership committee.

Q. What leads you to that conclusion?

A. The members of the Special Section were not called to the membership meeting because their identity was not known as a whole to the Party.

Q. In other words, the members of the Special Section were not known to the other members of the Party?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. And for that reason they were not called to this membership meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, about one week after that meeting were you and your husband picked up in an automobile and taken some place to a meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you acquainted during 1941 with Kenneth May?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Do you know in what capacity he was serving with the Communist Party of Alameda County in July, 1941?

A. He was educational director of the Communist Party of Alameda County in 1941.

Q. Did he have anything to do with the Special Section?

A. Yes, I was told that he was in charge of the Special Section.

Q. Who told you that?

A. My husband, Paul Crouch.

Q. Do you remember that Kenneth May came by and picked you up, picked you and your husband up, and took you to a meeting in July of 1941?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you fix the date?

A. I don't remember the exact date, but it was about one week after the District Committee meeting in San Francisco.

Q. And that was held on July 13, 1941?

A. It was possible, I don't know.

Q. You don't remember the exact date?

A. No, I don't remember the exact date.

Q. Are you sure it was in July, 1941?

A. Yes, I am sure it was in July, 1941.

Q. What time of day?

A. It was in the evening, and, as a matter of fact, it was dark.

Q. And who was driving the car?

A. Kenneth May.

Q. Did you know your destination when you left?

A. I knew that I was going to a meeting of the Special Section.

Q. How did you know that?

A. My husband, Paul Crouch, had told me.

Q. You knew that Kenneth May was in charge of the Special Section?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. From where did you leave?

A. From our home.

Q. From your home?

A. Yes, from our home.

Q. Where were you living at that time?

A. We were living on 25th Street, in Oakland.

Q. Now describe the general route by which you were taken to your destination.

A. Well, we drove up in the direction of Berkeley and up through Berkeley, and then we drove around and over winding roads and a very steep road, and up—I would say it was overlooking Berkeley, because even though it was dark we could see while driving up to this house, we could see the lights of San Francisco very brightly.

Q. What kind of a house was it?

A. Of course, it was dark, and I didn't have a very clear view of the outside of the house, but we turned off the main road and I believe we made a turn to the right and drove up about, oh, about I would say, two or three hundred feet off the main highway and onto a kind of gravelled road that set back under trees, and there was a kind of circular driveway where we parked, and there was a garage under the right, under the right of the house, underneath, and we walked up the steps to the left of the house, and they were concrete or stone steps, and we walked around the back and entered, and it was a very large living room at the back of the house.

Q. When you entered the living room, were you alone or was anybody with you?

A. Kenneth May and Paul Crouch were with me.

Q. Was anybody else in the living room at the time that you entered?

A. Oh, yes, there were a number of people.

Q. How many people, about?

A. I would say about 20 or 25 people.

Q. How many men and how many women; can you give us an idea?

A. To the best of my recollection there were about half a dozen women and the majority were men.

Q. Was the meeting held in the living room, in your presence?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the nature of the meeting?

A. The purpose of the meeting was for Paul Crouch to give a political report to the Special Section of the Party.

Q. Did he do that?

A. Yes, he did that.

Q. Do you remember the general nature of his remarks, what were they about, what subject did he tell them about?

A. The subject was the policy of the Party during the war, and this was after the Soviet Union had been attacked, and of course the line of the Party before that time had been different, and after the Soviet Union

had been attacked then the Party supported the war, and it was different before; before that time they had opposed it.

Q. Before that time they had opposed it?

A. Yes, before that time they had opposed it.

Q. How long did the meeting last?

A. About an hour and a half or two hours.

Q. After the meeting was over, where did you go?

A. After the meeting was over, after the meeting was finally adjourned we sat around in the living room and my husband talked to a number of people present, informally, and then we left and went home.

Q. Directly home?

A. Yes, directly home.

Q. Did Kenneth May drive you back to your home?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, since the meeting took place, Mrs. Crouch, that you have identified as a meeting of the Special Section of the Communist Party of Alameda County, for the reasons you have already given, have you been shown photographs by various government agencies for the purpose of seeing whether or not you could identify any of the people who were present?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Do you know any of the people present there, at the time that you attended that meeting?

A. At the time I attended the meeting the only person I knew by name was Kenneth May and another boy whom I have met and whom I knew as Bernard, but I didn't know his last name.

Q. Do you know his last name now?

A. No.

Q. Have you managed to identify from the various photographs that have been shown to you the identity of any of the people who attended that special meeting of the Special Section?

A. I have been able to identify two people positively and the others I am not positive about.

Q. Who are the two people you positively identified as having been there at that time and place?

A. The two people I positively identify as having been there at that time and place, as being present at the special meeting of the Communist Party at that time, were Joseph Weinberg and J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Q. Had you seen either Oppenheimer or Weinberg at any other meetings of the Communist Party at any other place?

A. I don't recall having seen them before that time.

Q. And did you see either of them after that time?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. At a Communist meeting?

A. I don't recall seeing them at closed Communist meetings, but I met them at different social affairs that had been arranged by the Communist Party.

Q. Mrs. Crouch, when did you last go up to the house where you testified the meeting of the Special Section was held in July, 1941; when were you last there?

A. Last Friday.

Q. Last Friday?

A. Yes, last Friday.

Q. Were you able to take a look at the interior of the house last Friday?

A. I didn't go inside of the house, but I was able to get a good view of the interior of the house by looking through the window.

Q. Did you get a good view of the exterior of the house and the grounds and the approach to the house?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Is there any doubt, however slight, in your mind about the positive identification of that house as being the same house where you were with your husband and Kenneth May at the meeting of the Special Section of the Communist Party of Alameda County in July, 1941?

A. Yes, I am positively and absolutely certain or I wouldn't say so.

Q. Was there anyone else with you when you went up there last Friday?

A. Yes, my husband and I, and we were accompanied by two deputies.

Q. Two officers?

A. Yes, two officers.

Q. Do you know whether or not your husband was inside of the house on that occasion?

A. Yes, he did go inside.

Q. Now calling your attention to the period of time that you attended the Special Section meeting in No. 10 Kenilworth Court, did you go to other affairs that were not necessarily closed meetings of the Communist Party but where people you recognized as members of the Communist Party were present and at which places you again saw Dr. Oppenheimer, that is, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Will you describe these meetings, please, and fix the date as near as you can?

A. One affair where I saw Dr. Oppenheimer was at a house-warming party for Kenneth May, and I believe that was in August, 1941; this was a house-warming party and it wasn't a closed Party meeting.

Q. You mean that it wasn't a closed Communist Party meeting?

A. Yes, I mean that it was not a closed Communist Party meeting; that is right.

Q. About how many people were present at the time that you were there?



A. I would estimate that there were between 50 and 75 people, in and out, during the time I was there.

Q. I will show you a series of pictures, Mrs. Crouch, and I will ask you whether or not any of these people were present at the Kenneth May affair that you have just mentioned. Do you recognize that person?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Who is that?

A. Professor Hiskey.

Q. Do you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I knew him as a member of the Communist Party.

Q. I will show you another picture, and will ask you if you recognize any of the people in that picture?

A. I recognize Frank Oppenheimer and his wife, Jackie.

Q. Were any of those people present at the affair in Kenneth May's house, that you have just described?

A. Professor Hiskey was present at Kenneth May's, and I believe—

Q. Was Frank Oppenheimer present?

A. I believe he was; I wouldn't say positively that he was there, but it is my recollection that he was.

Q. Were you personally acquainted with Frank Oppenheimer and Jacquenette Oppenheimer, his wife?

A. Yes.

Q. You knew them personally?

A. Yes, I knew them personally.

Q. To your positive knowledge, were they members of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, they were.

Q. Over how long a period of time did you know that?

A. During most of the time I was in the Communist Party in Oakland, in 1941.

Q. Have you seen the testimony that was given by Frank Oppenheimer and Jacquenette Oppenheimer, his wife, before the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities?

A. I have only read the newspaper accounts of it.

Q. Were either Frank Oppenheimer or Jacquenette Oppenheimer present at the address that you gave, 10 Kenilworth Court, when the Special Section meeting was held there?

A. No, they were not.

Q. They were not present there?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. For the record, do you know whether Frank Oppenheimer and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer are related?

A. I didn't know at the time that they were related.

Q. Have you learned since?

A. Yes, I have learned since that they were brothers.

Q. You have learned since that they were brothers?

A. Yes, I have learned since that they were brothers.

Q. Do you know a man in the Communist Party by the name of Joseph Weinberg?

A. I didn't know the name of this person, but I knew a person in the Communist Party whom I have identified as being present at the meeting, and I have learned after of the party's name, but at that time I did not know him.

Q. In other words, if I understand your testimony, and if I am wrong please correct me, because it is very important—after you left the Communist Party you have been shown numerous photographs by agencies of the United States Government; is that true?

A. Yes, that is true.

Q. And the names of the individuals whose photographs were displayed to you were not made known to you at the time that they were shown to you, is that correct?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. And you were able to make positive identification of the individuals before you knew their names?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. And you placed them in the meetings before you knew what the parties' names were, in these secret meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. First, you couldn't identify them by name——

A. At the time, I did not know their names.

Q. But you later placed them at these meetings?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. Was that true in the case of Joseph Weinberg?

A. I wasn't able to identify Joseph Weinberg by the photograph.

Q. You were unable to do that?

A. Yes, I was unable to do that. I said that he looked familiar, but I would not say positively.

Q. That is true in the case of Joseph Weinberg?

A. Yes, that is true in the case of Joseph Weinberg.

Q. But you have no doubt, have you, about the positive identification of J. Robert Oppenheimer being at the Special Section meeting at Kenilworth Drive and at the Kenneth May house party?

A. There is no doubt; I identified him by the photographs.

Q. You even saw a motion picture, and identified him from that?

A. Yes, I even saw a motion picture and identified him from that.

Q. Now, how did you happen to go to the Kenneth May house warming, Mrs. Crouch? I think you said that it was in August of 1941?

A. Yes, Kenneth May and his wife were moving into a new home and they were having a public house-warming, and of course, being well acquainted with Kenneth May and his wife, my husband and I went to the party, and also at that party were a number of Party members.

Q. Of course, you saw some people there, as far as you know, who were not Party members?

A. Yes, as far as I know, they were not Party members.

Q. In other words, it was not a closed Party affair, was it?

A. No, it was not a closed Party affair.

Q. Now, did you attend some fund-raising parties at an address on Midvale Avenue in this city in 1941?

A. I attended a number of fund-raising parties during 1941, and I attended a number of parties in the Fruitvale section in Oakland.

Q. The Fruitvale section of the Communist Party?

A. No, the Fruitvale section of the city, around Fruitvale Avenue, and I am not sure whether I attended any on Midvale Avenue or not, I cannot remember the address.

Q. Can you fix the approximate time when these affairs were held; was one of them on New Year's, a New Year's party?

A. Yes, one was a New Year's party and one was after the housewarming party at Kenneth May's, and before the New Year's party; so it must have been, oh, September or October, I don't remember the month.

Q. Will you fix it, as near as your memory will permit?

A. Well, to the best of my recollection one of those fund-raising parties was for the purpose of Spanish aid, and I believe another was for the *People's World*, but as to that I cannot say positively.

Q. Were they typical affairs that were held from time to time to raise funds for projects in which the Communist Party was interested?

A. Yes, they were.

Q. Those things were going on quite frequently, were they not?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Dr. Oppenheimer, that is, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer at any of those affairs?

A. I saw him at one, that I am sure.

Q. Are you able to determine which one it was?

A. It was a party that was held before the New Year's party, so it was in 1941.

Q. The one that was held in September or October, 1941?

A. Yes.

Q. And it was not the occasion of the New Year's party?

A. Yes.

Q. Is your identification of his presence at that affair as positive as your identification of the persons at the Special Section meeting that was held at 10 Kenilworth Court?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. Now, there is not the slightest doubt in your mind of the identification of Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. No, there is not the slightest doubt in my mind of the identification of Dr. Oppenheimer.

Q. And there is not the slightest confusion in your mind between Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and Mr. Frank Oppenheimer?

A. No, none whatever."

“Q. (To Mr. Crouch) : How many trips did you make to 10 Kenilworth Court after you attended the Special Section meeting there in July, 1941?

A. (By Mr. Crouch) : I have been to 10 Kenilworth Court since the special meeting on three occasions.

Q. And for what purpose did you make those trips?

A. For the purpose of identification on the first two, the identification of the exterior, and the third trip for the identification of the interior of the house, for positive and final identification of the interior.

Q. Did you make a final and positive identification?

A. Yes, I did; I made a final and positive identification.

Q. Were you actually inside of the house at the time?

A. Yes, I was; I was inside of the living room in which the meeting of the Special Section was held in July, 1941.

Q. Was Professor Loran there at that time?

A. You mean in 1941, or this last visit?

Q. On the last visit.

A. On the last visit he was present in the living room. I had never seen Professor Loran before in my life, as far as I know.

Q. Now, Mr. Crouch, did you ever testify positively at any place before this hearing that you had attended a meeting of the Special Section of the Communist Party of Alameda County, California, at which Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was present?

A. No, I did not.

Q. When did you first remove all positive—all possible doubt from your mind about his being present at that meeting?

A. Well, the last removal of all possible doubt, the last possible doubt, was when I saw him, when I saw him in the *March of Time*.

Q. That was a motion picture?

A. Yes, that was a motion picture, the *March of Time* when, for the first time since 1941, I heard his voice and I heard him speak. It was a speaking picture and he spoke at some length in the *March of Time*. And all possible doubt was removed at that time.

Q. Had you examined photographs, prior to that time, of Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. Yes, many magazine and newspaper photographs, and others.

Q. Had you drawn diagrams of the interior of the house at 10 Kenilworth Court?

A. I had drawn diagrams of the interior of the house and when I drew those diagrams, and when I gave the most minute description of how it turned off the road, what the front of the house was like, and how you walk around it to the left, and how there were the steps in the living room and the balcony and all of those things, and at the time I gave these descriptions to the government agencies, and to you, Mr. Combs, among others, I had no idea whatever what the address of this house was, and I had never heard of the address 10 Kenilworth Court, and I never dreamed, although I had good reasons to believe from the photographs, that, to be

certain almost beyond any doubt, and seeing him in newsreels and hearing his voice completely removed the slightest doubt; but, still, I didn't know that it was Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's home; and, in fact, when I made the identification and after I had made the identification after months and months of searching for the house, I discovered that it was the home of Professor Loran at which the meeting was held, but I didn't know until the investigation finally disclosed it that it was the home of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer at the time of the meeting.

Q. At the time that you made the diagrams, you made them for various investigative agencies, did you not?

A. Yes, I made them for several governmental agencies.

Q. Now, were you making any physical effort to locate the house, yourself; did you try to find the house?

A. Yes, and after I came here, after I came to California the first of November of last year, I spent days and days searching in company with agents of the government going up and down one street and over the streets and through the hills and around Berkeley in search for this house; and I knew I would recognize the house when I saw it, because of its unusual nature; and I was also searching for two other houses—one in which I had been present at a Young Communist League meeting with Joseph Weinberg. And I found that house long before I did the other one, and I recognized it when I was driving up the street, recognized it at a glance, and investigation showed that this house was occupied, subsequent investigation showed that it was occupied by Communists and that meetings were being held there; and there was a person whom I previously described as a member of the Young Communist League that had already been described by me. And I had no trouble making the identification, but it was only very recently that we found the other home or place that has been mentioned.

Q. That is, 10 Kenilworth Court?

A. Yes, that is 10 Kenilworth Court; and I recognized it at a glance as soon as I saw the house, as the place where the meeting was held, and I saw it from the outside and there was nothing about the appearance of the house to indicate to anyone that the living room should be on the southeast corner of the house instead of the front as living rooms usually are; for in reference to the balcony, and there was no balcony aside from the front; and all of these things were included. And I previously described the balcony, and I previously described what the size of the room was, and the unusually large fireplace, and the very large living room located on the southeast corner, and with windows on the south side, and the—I mean, southwest side and not the southeast; and with windows on the west side and windows on the south side and having an excellent view of the Bay and San Francisco, and so on. And it was on the—well, after I saw the inside, and how these things corresponded with the diagram that I had previously drawn and with the detailed descriptions that I had given to the Federal Bureau and agencies and to you, Mr. Combs, and that was long before I knew there was such an address in Alameda County as Kenilworth Court.



Q. Now, Mr. Crouch, at the time that Kenneth May picked you up, at the time that he picked you up and took you to this Special Section meeting, for what purpose did you go?

A. I went for the purpose of giving a political report on the new line to be followed, and on the international situation. I previously mentioned that I made a report to the membership meeting, to all sections except the Special Section, that were being held at this time. It was decided in the county secretariat—that is Charles Drasnin and Kenneth May and myself, that I should make a report to the Party, to the general meeting of these two branches, that is, the professional branch and Radiation Laboratory and technician's branch; and that is the meeting to which this is referring. And there were also two other meetings of the Special Section in which I made reports involving branch meetings; one was the public officers' branch, and the other was the professional branch of doctors, dental workers, and so on, that I have previously mentioned in my testimony.

Q. This particular meeting, then, was a combined meeting of the professional branch and the Radiation Laboratory branch of the Special Section, is that right?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. Were you so informed by Kenneth May when he picked you up and you started up there, to give that political report?

A. In the first, I knew the Radiation Laboratory branch, and I knew the professional branch, and we had discussed it at the secretariat, that there was to be this general meeting, and we made this decision. And when Kenneth May picked my wife and me up to go to the home I knew it was in conformity with the decision that we made in the secretariat, and that it was to be a general meeting of these two branches of the section. I knew that, because we had made that decision in the secretariat.

Q. You knew that was to be the purpose of the meeting before you left?

A. Yes, I knew that was to be the purpose of the meeting before I left.

Q. Could there be any element of doubt about the purpose of the meeting; could it have been, for example, a cultural meeting of the people assembled there, and they decided that they would like to listen to a man such as yourself who was county organizer for the Communist Party, and you were invited up there to address a circle of friends?

A. No, there could be no doubt about the purpose of the meeting. It was definitely a Communist Party meeting of the highest Party level, and it was simply and definitely a meeting of the highest level of the Communist Party.

Q. After you delivered your political report, was there a question period that followed?

A. Yes, after I got through giving my report.

Q. During the progress of the meeting and during the question and answer period, what individuals were you able to identify as having been present at that particular meeting?

A. At the time I spoke I knew no one by name other than my wife, Sylvia, and Kenneth May; and there were a number of other people. There were several people I saw at later occasions at Party-organized affairs whom I knew, or whom I had met at that meeting; and one who I later met was Joseph Weinberg, who attended several meetings of the Young Communist League.

Q. That is Joseph Weinberg?

A. Yes, that is Joseph Weinberg. As a matter of fact, I met Joseph Weinberg at one meeting of the Young Communist League before that time, but I didn't know his name. This was the second time that I met him at a social affair that was organized by the Party. And like similar parties, there were similar fronts; and I met a professor who I have later learned definitely was J. Robert Oppenheimer, and who addressed several questions among the group, and later on I met him personally, standing by a sort of built-in couch or studio in the southwest corner, and most of the people were sitting around the fireplace or kind of talking between themselves, and there was a studio or a room to the left, and it was here that I met Dr. Oppenheimer. After I met this scientist, whom I later learned to be Dr. Oppenheimer, he came over and shook hands with me and asked me a number of personal questions and conversed at some length. At the time I did not know him and he was not introduced to me by name. It was a common process. And then, afterwards, as he walked away, Kenneth May volunteered the information that he was a very famous scientist.

Q. Kenneth May told you that?

A. Yes, Kenneth May told me that, and I saw this man and talked to the man, and I later learned that he was Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Q. How long a conversation did you have with Dr. Oppenheimer on that occasion?

A. Well, it was, perhaps 10 minutes.

Q. And the next time that you heard his voice was when you heard it on the screen?

A. No, the next time was at Kenneth May's house-warming party. It was an open affair but it was composed mostly of Communists, but they were not all Communists; but the Communists came in and out and many of them were there.

Q. Did you speak to him on that occasion?

A. Yes, I spoke to him on that occasion and I chatted with him for a few minutes and talked with him in company with Clarence Hiskey and two or three other scientists who were sitting down in the corner of the room and having a general discussion of scientific and technical matters.

Q. And you talked to him how long on that occasion?

A. I don't recall how long I talked to him on that occasion, 10 minutes or 20 minutes. It was nothing of importance. However, it was a very general and broad conversation as I recall it. I recall it more, because of Clarence Hiskey, whom I had know in Knoxville, Tennessee, when I was organizer for Tennessee. Hiskey was a very good friend of mine in Knoxville, Tennessee.

Q. You knew him as a Communist Party member?

A. Yes, I knew him as a Communist Party member, and as a scientist, and a very personal friend.

Q. And in what field of scientific work was he engaged?

A. He was Professor of Chemistry at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville when I knew him, and later on he was a supervisor of the project in connection with atomic development, in connection with gasses and different processes.

Q. Did you recognize anybody else whom you knew to be a Party member at the Kenneth May house-warming?

A. Yes, Steve Nelson was there at the Kenneth May house-warming, and Rudy Lambert was there and Charles Drasnin, and I recall William Schneiderman came in during the period but he didn't stay long; he came in and left. And there were two Japanese girls, Alice Sera, and she was with her friend, Nora, of the *People's World*, in San Francisco. And I would say that practically, I would say that almost every important district leader and District Bureau member stopped in for at least a few minutes. Some stopped in for a lengthy time, and some stopped in and said hello and left. Most of the county leaders of the Party were there."

After Crouch and his wife had defied Schneiderman's order to move from Oakland to Los Angeles and had ceased their Communist activities, Steve Nelson succeeded Crouch as organizer for the Communist Party of Alameda County. During 1942 and 1943 he was not only the boss of the entire Party organization there but he also concentrated his attention on the work of the Special Section. During the summer of 1943 Marcel Scherer guided the destinies of Chapter 25, FAECT, and the combined efforts of the Soviet diplomatic agents, and Nelson, Scherer, Lambert and May netted a swarm of zealous Communist scientists who thronged through the atomic bomb project.

### **Executive Board Meetings, Chap. 25, F. A. E. C. T.**

At meetings of the executive committee of Chapter 25, methods of eluding the Federal Bureau of Investigation were often discussed. Irving David Fox, described as a mild-mannered young teaching assistant by the trusting and uninformed authors of *The Year of the Oath*, was president of the executive committee of Chapter 25 in 1943 and was up to his neck in subversive activities. Fox was actually under surveillance during most of that year, and while under surveillance on August 12, 1943, was seen attending a highly secret meeting at 9.30 p.m., in the Berkeley home of Joseph W. Weinberg, a fellow atomic scientist and also a member of the Special Section of the Communist Party of Alameda County. Other persons present at this meeting were Steve Nelson, Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, David Bohm, Max Friedman and Fox—all except Nelson being employed in the Radiation Laboratory at the University of California on atomic bomb research.

Just one month before this conference with Steve Nelson the executive board of Chapter 25 met, on the evening of July 13, 1943, in the home of Irving David Fox. Those present on this occasion were Giovanni Rossi

Lomanitz, Max Bernard Friedman, Noel Bartlett, John Holmes, and an official representative of the C. I. O. from San Francisco by the name of Frank Collins. Fox called the meeting to order at 8 p.m. and discussed certain important contacts that were to be made among the scientific personnel engaged in atomic research and other critical work. The list of persons to be contacted—taken from the actual minutes of this meeting and here set forth publicly for the first time, were: Ruth Lerner, Martin Kamen, Anita Eastman, William Appleton, William Beaver, Frank Trainor, Albert Lewis, Jack DuPangher, Milton Gross, Andrew Guthrie, Robert Akers, Bernard Porter, Giles Brown, Edward Lofgren, Ronald Geballe, Hugh Wilcox, Frank Oppenheimer, John Backus, Arnold Clark, and Harold Lindsay.

Collins announced to the assembled members of the executive board that Robert W. Kenney, then Attorney General for the State of California, had offered Chapter 25 of the FAECT his assistance in what was referred to as “contact work.”

The possibility of organizing the University of California guards was suggested in a semi-humorous way, but Giovanni Lomanitz stated that such a step was not impracticable if properly handled. Max Friedman ended this discussion by stating flatly that Chapter 25 was having enough trouble without “inviting the F. B. I. into its meetings.”

Lomanitz then described how the guards at the Radiation Laboratory invariably took the names of all persons who came to the atomic research project and “kept track of all coming and going of workers on the project, and that he didn’t know what significance it had but thought it might be a good idea to bring it up, so that if any committees were to meet, *they could take proper precautions to meet at the right time and places.*” (committee’s italics)

For the purpose of showing the inside activities of the executive board of Chapter 25, F. A. E. C. T., the committee here repeats some excerpts from minutes of the meetings that have been heretofore discussed in previous committee reports.

On April 7, 1943, a meeting was held at the home of Irving David Fox, at 8 p.m. Present were Ted Finkelstein, Ray Dunn, Carl Barber, Jeanne Carlin, Jim DeJourn, Noel Bartlett, David Fox, Jeanette Greenwood, Shirlee Davis, and Helen Verde. Excerpts from the minutes of this meeting, which like the other excerpts presented were taken from the original and official documents of the organization itself, read as follows:

“Ray Dunn stated that it would be necessary to obtain a complete personnel list of the employees with the Radiation Laboratory and that this could best be obtained from the personnel office. Dr. Nelson raised an objection to this procedure, stating that the filching of such a list would probably come to the attention of the F. B. I. which would make trouble for the F. A. E. C. T.

“Ted Finkelstein stated that many people he contacted objected to joining the union as they felt that the F. A. E. C. T. was Communist controlled and favored cooperation after the war in setting up a Communist government in the United States. In answer to this



Ray Dunn stated that he understood this attitude as he felt the same way—stated that the U. S. Communist Party should set up its own government in this country.”

On April 14, 1943, those present at the executive board meeting were Noel Bartlett, Max Friedman, Irving David Fox, Bernard Peters, Ted Finkelstein, Lillian Montier, and Shirlee Davis. The minutes of that meeting read, in part, as follows:

“Regarding membership, Bernard Peters stated that it is absolutely necessary to get a good foothold on the hill (Radiation Laboratory) before the F. A. E. C. T. could consider itself thoroughly entrenched.

“Bernard Peters suggested that the committee pass on all material to forestall any possible leakage of information.

“Shirlee Davis asked David Fox if it would be all right if outsiders came to the big meeting. And he answered that it wouldn’t be wise because it might give the F. B. I. and the university an opportunity to accuse the union of carelessness in letting out information by asking outsiders to come as they might get to know people working on the hill.”

On May 5, 1943, the meeting was held in the home of Shirlee Davis at 8 p.m. Those members of the executive board who were present on that occasion were: Irving David Fox, Noel Bartlett, John Grove, Allan Marshak, Ruth Erikson, Max Friedman, John Holmes, Bernard Peters, David Bohm, Ted Finkelstein, John Harding, Andy Guthrie, Mae Gallagher, Bill Baker, William Siri Lindheim, Lillian Montier, Carl Barber, Robert Loevinger, Jim DeJourn, Richard Penn, and Dave Altman. Excerpts from the minutes of this meeting were as follows:

“Noel Bartlett stated that he would ask the mail girl in his department on the hill to distribute the leaflets or notifications of F. A. E. C. T. as if they were checks.

“David Fox suggested that these leaflets be put in envelopes to make them less liable to detection.”

### **Dr. Martin Kamen**

We have already discussed the meeting at the home of Joseph Weinberg, where four university employees—all working in the atomic bomb laboratory, met with a known Soviet agent, Steve Nelson. Now let us examine the case of Dr. David Martin Kamen, alias Kametsky, a naturalized American citizen of Russian descent.

Dr. Kamen was staff chemist in the Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley and a faculty member at the university from 1936 to 1945. His name, as stated above, appeared in the minutes of F. A. E. C. T. Chapter 25 as a valuable contact. Among his close acquaintances at the university were Dr. Frank Oppenheimer, an admitted Communist and brother of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and Professor Haakon Chevalier, whose name will figure prominently later in this report.

On the evening of July 2, 1944, Dr. Kamen went from Berkeley to San Francisco and met the Soviet Vice Consul, Kheifitz, and Gregory



Kasperov, a Soviet Consular Attache, in a Powell Street restaurant. The three men occupied a booth, had dinner, and discussed a variety of subjects for two and a half hours. Kamen, through his left-wing acquaintances at social functions in Berkeley, had met Kheifitz on previous occasions at various social affairs, particularly through Louise Bransten whose name appears in the previous reports of this committee and who was also an acquaintance of the Oppenheimer brothers and Professor Chavalier.

Kheifitz was about to leave the United States for Russia. In fact he told Dr. Kamen he was leaving immediately after dinner and that he wanted to introduce Kasperov who succeeded him as Vice Consul; and Kheifitz actually did sail for the Soviet Union two days after this dinner conference.

The conversation was, as might be expected, concerned chiefly with matters atomic; some of the information given by Kamen being in the restricted and secret category. He also handed some printed materials to the Russians. These facts, like the account of the meeting with Steve Nelson, are completely reliable because Dr. Kamen was under surveillance from the time he left Berkeley, and his restaurant conference with Kheifitz and Kasperov was recorded by government agents in an adjacent booth. Ten days thereafter Dr. Kamen was discharged from his job in the Radiation Laboratory.

Kheifitz' purpose in cultivating Dr. Kamen was quite obvious. He was in charge of Soviet espionage activities, a fact established because of the radio reports which he sent from San Francisco to New York and also direct to a station in the Soviet Union, as well as from his known contacts with atomic scientists at the university who were connected with the Special Section. Among his more important contacts were Professor Ralph Gundlach, whose name is mentioned previously in this report, and Allan Marshak, another employee at the Berkeley Radiation Laboratory who was also connected with Chapter 25 of the F. A. E. C. T. Kheifitz was also in contact with Dr. Louis Bloch, a member of the War Manpower Commission in San Francisco. This highly important body was headed during the last war by Sam Kagle, who taught courses in the San Francisco Communist School in 1943, 1944, and 1945; and it also included Paul Heide, identified by the sworn testimony of several witnesses as a member of the Communist Party of Alameda County. Both Kagle and Heide are mentioned in other reports which have been issued by this committee.

Space will not permit a detailed account of the elaborate espionage network which existed in the Bay area during the critical years from 1943 until after the last war. But it should be added that Marcel Scherer was also in contact with the War Manpower Commission in San Francisco and with Mrs. Samuel May, the stepmother of Kenneth May, whose work at the university was the training and assignment of personnel to defense jobs.

Mrs. May appeared and testified at the Oakland hearing in May, 1950. She stated that she was engaged in the work described during 1942

and 1943; that she was in frequent contact with the War Manpower Commission in San Francisco; that she knew Dr. Bloch; that Marcel Scherer contacted her on the university campus where her office was located on several occasions, and that his high-pressure methods were most unusual. Mrs. May testified she was aware of Scherer's connection with the F. A. E. C. T., but knew little about the organization.

The committee subpoenaed Mrs. May because it was, of course, vitally interested in the activities of Scherer and his associates at the state university. The records of the F. A. E. C. T. Chapter stated that Mrs. May had been present at meetings with Scherer, and the committee desired to obtain from her an account of Scherer's actions.

In view of the fact that Scherer was a graduate of the Soviet espionage school, and in view of the fact that Mrs. May was placing hundreds of persons in shipyards, aircraft factories, laboratories, and other critical places connected with the war effort, it was no more than natural that Scherer should attempt to establish a firm liaison with her office.

It is, of course, true that in 1942 and 1943, Mrs. May's stepson, Kenneth, was in charge of the Special Section with Steve Nelson and Rudy Lambert, and was also closely associated with Marcel Scherer. In view of these facts, the committee wishes to make it clear that it found no evidence of any subversive affiliation or conduct on the part of Mrs. May. She was a willing and cooperative witness. Her counsel, Mr. Phillip Angell, of San Francisco, was both cooperative and decorous when he came with his client to the hearing. The committee, being accustomed to the disruptive tactics of the lawyers who habitually represent Communists, cannot refrain from contrasting their highly vocal and unorthodox antics with the demeanor of the ethical members of the bar, as exemplified by Mr. Angell. These gentlemen advise their clients during the hearings and protect their interests constantly—but with dignity and a complete understanding of the powers, duties, and problems of legislative fact-finding committees.

Neither Professor Loran nor Mrs. May considered their constitutional rights invaded when they were asked whether they were or had ever been members of the Communist Party—and each answered the question frankly, categorically, and in the negative.

### **Testimony Before House Committee**

Robert R. Davis testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D. C. He, too, was employed in the Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley and while so engaged was recruited into the Communist Party by Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz—the F. A. E. C. T. member.

Davis and his wife, Charlotte, who was also recruited by Lomanitz, corroborated the testimony of Mr. Crouch concerning the secrecy which surrounded Special Section meetings. They were never told where the meetings would be held and only knew that they were in "private residences in the Berkeley hills." They were only able to identify Lomanitz,

Max Bernard Friedman, and Joseph Weinberg as having attended these meetings.

In view of the evidence concerning Lomanitz, his appearance before the House Committee is of considerable significance. It is important because of his active role in F. A. E. C. T. Chapter 25 at the university; because he was seen in conference with Joseph Weinberg, Steve Nelson, Max Bernard Friedman, and Irving David Fox; because he, like other witnesses with comparable records, displayed outrage and surprise when the slightest reference was made to his Communist background, and then refused to answer any specific questions about his Party affiliations or contacts on the ground that his answers might tend to incriminate him.

Lomanitz read from a prepared statement. One of the paragraphs referred to an interview with agents of the Army Provost Marshal's office. The excerpt read:

“\* \* \* During this interview, I was questioned for a long time on my interest in unions in general and the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (F. A. E. C. T.) in particular. I was then told that some unknown person had instigated the charge that I was connected with ‘Communistic organizations.’ *At the time I brushed this aside as ridiculous.*” (Committee’s italics.)

Lomanitz was trying to get himself deferred from induction into the armed forces on the ground that he had, after leaving the university’s Radiation Laboratory, secured employment with a radar tube concern in San Francisco. The draft board was considering his application for deferment when the prospective employer requested that the application be canceled. Lomanitz referred to this situation in his written statement as follows:

“No one knew I was going to San Francisco that Saturday, and I wandered completely by chance into the radar tube outfit. Yet by Sunday the outfit was going to great effort to cancel my deferment, as had the mathematics department previously. The only inference I could draw is that I was being closely followed and pressure put on my prospective employers. This also jibes with the fact that *Oppenheimer’s strong representations in my behalf failed*, (committee’s italics) and that the international president of the F. A. E. C. T.-C. I. O. Union was told by the California State Selective Service Director that the case was out of his hands.”

Lomanitz admitted being acquainted with Joseph Weinberg, Max Friedman, Dr. David Bohm and Robert Davis. But he declined to tell the committee whether he knew Steve Nelson on the ground that his answer to that particular question might incriminate him. He refused, also, to answer any questions concerning his own Party affiliation and those of Weinberg, Friedman, Bohm and others for the same reason, and refused to discuss his recruiting of Robert Davis into the Party on the same grounds.

Dr. David Bohm, when questioned in Washington, testified that while working in the Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley he had access to classified information, and that he was acquainted with Irving David Fox, Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, Max Bernard Friedman, and Joseph Weinberg. But when asked if he knew any of the Communists in charge of the Special Section—Steve Nelson, Rudy Lambert, Kenneth May and Marcel Scherer—Bohm invoked the plea of possible self-incrimination and refused to answer; and he used the same constitutional excuse in declining to testify about his own Communist connections.

Dr. Frank Oppenheimer also appeared before the House Committee in Washington and testified that when he joined the Communist Party in 1937 he used the alias "Frank Folsom." He stated that he had "dropped" his membership in 1941. Oppenheimer had previously denied (but not under oath) that he had ever been a Communist. He testified that he became dissatisfied with the Party because "*they did not try hard enough to convince other people of the essential soundness of their program.*" Dr. Oppenheimer admitted his acquaintance with Lomanitz, Weinberg, Bohm, Kenneth May, Professor Haakon Chevalier and Steve Nelson—but he, too, refused to answer specific questions concerning his knowledge of their Communist affiliations.

Dr. Oppenheimer was followed on the witness stand by his wife, Jacquenette, who readily admitted having been a Communist and her acquaintance with members of the F. A. E. C. T. Chapter 25, including Brownlee Shirek and David Adelson; with Joseph Weinberg and with Steve Nelson. But Mrs. Oppenheimer also refused to answer any questions concerning their Party affiliations.

For a person who had just "dropped" out of the Communist movement, Dr. Oppenheimer's activities as reported by the *Daily People's World*, were most peculiar. In October, 1944, three years after having "dropped," the Robert Merriam Post of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (in which Steve Nelson served as lieutenant colonel) staged an affair at his Berkeley residence; in February, 1945, he participated in a benefit for the Communist school in San Francisco; in July, 1945, an affair was held at his Berkeley home under the auspices of the notorious front organization, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; in January, 1946, he participated in a benefit for Chapter 25, F. A. E. C. T., in May, 1946, he was listed by the Communist Party school as an instructor in science and in 1949 he was a sponsor for the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, a Communist front. Dr. Oppenheimer may have "dropped" out of the Party in 1941, but he hadn't fallen very far by 1949.

### **Eltenton and Chevalier**

George Charles Eltenton and Professor Haakon Chevalier were destined to collaborate in one of the earliest efforts on the part of the Soviet Union to obtain secret atomic bomb information. Their target was Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, Frank's brother.



Eltenton, who lived at 986 Cragmont Street, Berkeley, with his wife Dorothea and their three small children, was intimately acquainted with the members of the F. A. E. C. T. and the Special Section clique which has been already described. Both of the Eltentons were British aliens, the husband having just applied for his American citizenship when he was subpoenaed to appear as a witness before this committee in 1946. He was employed at the time as a research physicist at the Shell Development Co. in Emeryville, was a member of the F. A. E. C. T. branch there, and no doubt was well qualified for his job in several respects, since he had studied nuclear physics for several years at the Scientific Institute in Leningrad, Russia.

Both of the Eltentons lectured at the Communist school in San Francisco. The *Daily People's World* was delivered to their Berkeley residence. They were acquainted, among other persons, with the late Professor Alexander Kaun, Kenneth May, Professor Haakon Chevalier, Louise Bransten, and the F. A. E. C. T. members heretofore mentioned.

By 1943 the Eltentons had become well known to the Soviet diplomatic corps in San Francisco, and on several occasions met with Chevalier, Louise Bransten and selected personnel from the Communist school at social gatherings held in the Soviet consulate.

Professor Haakon M. Chevalier was one of the most ubiquitous figures in the Communist set at Berkeley. He had been a student at the University of California, and taught romance languages there from 1927 until December, 1946.

Miles G. Humphries, who was secretary for the Communist Party of Alameda County in 1934, has testified that Rudy Lambert was even then working with Communists who were members of the faculty at the university, and he stated, "Lambert reported to me that Haakon Chevalier was, in 1934, the faculty unit organizer for the Communist Party in Alameda County, and that meetings of the faculty unit were regularly held in Chevalier's home and were frequently attended by Lambert. This University of California unit was handled with extreme secrecy, the members being unknown to the regular Party members and handled only by Lambert, who reported directly to the District Committee of the Party. \* \* \* I drove Rudy Lambert to Chevalier's home twice to these faculty meetings, but was never allowed to go inside where the meetings were being held."

Chevalier testified before this committee in November, 1947. He admitted affiliation with Communist front organizations, including the American Committee to Save Refugees, the American Council for Soviet Relations, with two Communist-controlled publications known as *Black and White* and *Dynamo*, with the League of American Writers, the Writers' Congress of 1936, and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. He also admitted acquaintance with John Howard Lawson, William Gropper, Carey McWilliams, David Jenkins, director of the Communist school, Louise Bransten, Paul Robeson, Holland Roberts of the Communist school, George and Dorothea Eltenton, and Peter Ivanov, Soviet



Vice Consul in San Francisco in 1943. Professor Chevalier also testified that he had known Frank Oppenheimer for about 10 years and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer for 12 or 13 years.

The activities of Steve Nelson in connection with Communist underground activities in the San Francisco and Alameda County area has already been discussed in considerable detail, but for the purpose of showing the contact between Nelson and J. Robert Oppenheimer, it is necessary to know a little more about Nelson's background.

He was born Stefan Mesarosh on January 1, 1903, at Chaglich, Yugoslavia, and first came to the United States on June 12, 1920, under the name of Fleischinger. That name was used by Stefan's mother for the purpose of gaining illegal admission to the United States.

On November 26, 1928, Stefan applied for American citizenship, and at the time of his application had been a member of the Communist Party of the United States for three years. By 1931 Nelson had become an important functionary in the American Communist Party, but on August 14th of that year the State Department naively issued him a passport. This document enabled Nelson to sail for Moscow where he studied espionage and sabotage techniques at the Lenin School in order to adequately fit himself to return to the United States and help destroy our government—State Department and all. In 1934 he had finished his specialized training in Russia and returned to this Country, having been trained not only in the Lenin School, but also in the school which was conducted by the Soviet secret police.

In 1934, shortly after returning to this Country, Nelson did organizational work for the Party in the Pennsylvania coal mines. When the civil war broke out in Spain he was made political commissar for the International Brigade—a position that was of particular importance for future espionage work. In Spain Nelson worked under the direction of the Comintern itself. He left Spain by once more hoodwinking the State Department with his customary ease and aplomb—this time using the name Fleischinger again and giving his birthplace as Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He arrived in this Country late in 1937, having completed his duties in Spain, was elected a member of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States and once more busied himself with espionage and organizational work.

The International Brigade was simply a select group of Communist Party members and sympathizers who were sent to fight in the Spanish Revolution, and whose leadership was composed of some of the high ranking members of the Communist movement in Europe. Nelson served as a lieutenant colonel in the Lincoln Battalion, which was the group of Communists from the United States, and became something of an international hero by reason of his zealous activities during the Spanish Revolution.

Shortly after the second World War commenced, Nelson was sent to San Francisco as a county organizer, and immediately organized the maritime unions into centers of espionage courier activity—but his main

assignment was to secure valuable information concerning American scientific research—which was being conducted at the University of California in Berkeley.

### **Katherine Puening Oppenheimer**

Katherine Vissering Puening was born in Germany on August 8, 1914, the daughter of Frank and Kate Puening. Her father, a chemical engineer, brought the family to the United States, and after the parents had become American citizens established residence on Delafield Road, Aspinwall, Pennsylvania. Katherine graduated from Aspinwall High School in June, 1928. She entered the University of Pennsylvania and received an AB degree from that institution in June, 1939. During the 10-year interim between her graduation from high school and from the university, she also attended Pittsburgh University and Wisconsin University. During this period Miss Puening spent considerable time in Europe, since the record discloses that she also studied at Grenoble, France, and at Munich, Germany.

Katherine married a man named Stewart-Harrison (although she occasionally wrote the name without using the hyphen), whose political views were considerably left of center, as he not only enlisted in the International Brigade to fight in the Spanish Civil War, but was on intimate terms with the ubiquitous Mr. Steve Nelson.

In 1937 Katherine Puening Stewart-Harrison went to Spain to meet her husband. Steve Nelson contacted her there and informed her that her husband had been killed—and thus a contact was established that was later to be renewed in Berkeley, California.

Whether or not Nelson and Katherine Stewart-Harrison met in Pennsylvania is not definitely known; nor is it known whether Nelson knew her husband there. Such an assumption may not appear far-fetched, however, since Nelson was the top Communist official for the State of Pennsylvania, and Katherine's husband was a volunteer in the very battalion which was under Nelson's command. It is certain, however, that Nelson and Stewart-Harrison were closely associated in Spain.

In 1939 Katherine enrolled as a graduate student at U. C. L. A., and commenced doing intensive research in the field of mycology. She lived at 553½ South Coronado Street in Los Angeles. She met J. Robert Oppenheimer at U. C. L. A., and they were married in November, 1940. In July, 1941, they were living at 10 Kenilworth Court, Berkeley, and Doctor Oppenheimer was engaged in the research that led to the development of the atomic bomb. During the late summer of 1941 the Oppenheimers moved to No. 1 Eagle Hill, Berkeley.

Here, then, was a girl who was in Pennsylvania at the time Steve Nelson was the top Communist in that state; a girl whose husband had served under Steve Nelson as a volunteer in the Communist International Brigade; a girl who met Steve Nelson in Spain in 1937; a girl who married this country's top atomic scientist in November, 1940; a girl

who entertained Steve Nelson—master spy, a graduate of the Lenin School, a member of the Communist Party National Committee in the United States, a student of the Soviet secret police—entertained him as Mrs. J. Robert Oppenheimer in Berkeley. Nelson and his wife visited the Oppenheims on several occasions, and it was quite natural that Nelson—bearing in mind his training and background—was extremely careful in his approach and capitalized heavily on the circle of friends who were intimate with the Oppenheims, many of whom were fanatic, highly-indoctrinated Communists.

Now these facts—all documented—merely suffice to cast an air of grave suspicion on Doctor Oppenheimer and his wife. But suspicion is not enough. It remains to have the positive proof in the testimony of Paul Crouch to the effect that he delivered a political lecture to the Special Section of the Communist Party of Alameda County in Doctor Oppenheimer's own home; and in the evaluation of that proof it is necessary to examine the personal background of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

### **Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer**

In 1938 Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was engaged in atomic research at the University of California in Berkeley. He was then living at 2665 Shasta Road, and regularly subscribed to the Communist paper, the *Daily People's World*, at that address. Dr. Oppenheimer has frankly stated that he was, during this period, interested in Marxian theory and in Communism. Prominent members of the Communist Party were among his intimate friends and, as he has also stated, he attended many meetings at which Communists were undoubtedly present. He affiliated with several front organizations, among which were: the Consumers Union, American Friends of the Chinese People, and the Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, which was headed in California by Louise Bransten. Mrs. Bransten, it will be remembered, was the person who introduced Dr. Martin Kamen to the Soviet Vice Consul at San Francisco. Both Doctor Kamen and Mrs. Bransten were among Doctor Oppenheimer's acquaintances.

Dr. Oppenheimer, like his wife's first husband, was also interested in the cause of the Spanish Loyalists, having signed a Communist-sponsored petition asking our Government to lift its embargo against shipment of vital war material to Spain, and having contributed toward sending a field ambulance to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in which Steve Nelson was a lieutenant colonel. Apparently Dr. Oppenheimer's interest in Marxian matters continued for a period of several years, at least. During 1938 and 1939 he received the *Daily People's World* at his Shasta Road residence; in 1940 he subscribed to the paper at No. 1 Eagle Hill, and during the summer of 1941 it was delivered to him at the premises he rented from Professor Loran, No. 10 Kenilworth Court.

Harrison George, former editor-in-chief of the *Daily People's World*, has stated that the editorial policy of the paper was actually determined

by William Schneiderman; and the staff has always displayed a singularly accurate knowledge about loyal and sympathetic subscribers. Intelligence agents and other anti-Communists, some of whom take the paper under fictitious names, are never mentioned in its columns except in terms that are far from complimentary. Those who take the paper because of pure intellectual curiosity are simply ignored. But those who subscribe over a period of years, who actively participate in the Party's front organizations and who are on intimate terms with important Party members—this type of subscriber is favorably mentioned at every opportunity. Doctor Oppenheimer apparently qualified for such attention even when he was a relatively obscure young scientist, as is attested by issues of the paper for January 29, 1938, February 7, 1938, March 27, 1938, October 10, 1945, November 17, 1945, March 15, 1946, April 24, 1947, and May 24, 1947.

In commenting on newspaper articles, it may well be added parenthetically that on February 8, 1947, the *San Francisco Chronicle* quoted Doctor Oppenheimer as follows: "Oppenheimer says real atom bomb 'secret' is safe \* \* \* yet it is my opinion that even if we threw the books wide open and showed the Russians, for instance, all the facts and figures we have, it would only confuse them." Subsequent events have demonstrated with tragic clarity that our atomic research books *were* wide open, and that swarms of Soviet agents and home-grown Communist scientists *were* studying all our facts and figures—indeed, they were helping us make the A-bomb. And instead of being "confused" the Russians made an atomic bomb, exploded it in 1949, and are now engaged in all-out production of atomic weapons under the supervision of Laventri Beria, head of the Soviet secret police. It need hardly be added that Mr. Beria will not allow any scientists with American sympathies to participate in this enterprise.

When Steve Nelson was sent to Berkeley in 1941 to replace Crouch, he lost little time in trying to obtain secret A-bomb information from Doctor Oppenheimer. Having met and befriended Mrs. Oppenheimer in Spain and having been associated with her former husband in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, he had an ideal entree. Nelson was making progress reports at this time to a superior in the East who used the cover name "Al." The reports were sent to a mail drop in New York, and one of them stated that both Doctor Oppenheimer and his wife were uncooperative and unsympathetic toward Communism.

The method used by Nelson in making these reports is significant for two reasons. In the first place, it shows that his Berkeley operation was of such importance that he reported directly to an eastern contact, and secondly, that his mission was protected by the use of a mail drop and cover names. In many counterespionage cases the agents have assumed that their activities were under surveillance and that their reports were being intercepted. In such cases the messages were plainly written for the purpose of planting erroneous information or to divert suspicion from a valuable contact. This technique has frequently been used by our own counterespionage agencies with considerable success.



Whether Nelson employed such a stratagem is, of course, a matter of pure conjecture. The facts, however, are that his record was well known, his report concerning Dr. Oppenheimer's failure to cooperate was couched in simple and unmistakable terms, and Nelson *was* under surveillance and his reports *were* intercepted. In view of his Moscow training it is quite possible that Nelson's report was a deliberate ruse, and in the light of later developments it should not be regarded too seriously. If he had wanted to protect himself he could have employed a code and cipher in this particular report, as is the invariable custom of all Communists engaged in even the most prosaic underground activity.

### ***Their Relations Were Purely Atomic***

In 1942 and 1943 the man in supreme charge of espionage activities in connection with the atomic bomb was Peter Ivanov, Soviet Vice-Consul at San Francisco. He was frequently in conference with Steve Nelson and Prof. Haakon Chevalier. If we were planning to have one of our Russian agents approach a Soviet atomic scientist, we would pick our contact men with scrupulous care. Peter Ivanov was operating an espionage project to get the world's most precious secret. Not only would Ivanov himself have been carefully chosen for such an enormously vital job, but he, in turn, would exercise equal care in selecting the intermediaries for this delicate and risky undertaking. After due consideration he selected Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer as the target and Professor Haakon Chevalier as the intermediary. Thus, in the opinion of Ivanov, the top Soviet agent, there was no doubt about Oppenheimer's reliability; and there was no apprehension by Ivanov that Oppenheimer would, immediately after being approached, report the attempt to the proper authorities.

After the plan had been hatched, Ivanov contacted George C. Eltenton, the atomic scientist who has already been mentioned as the person who had done research work at the Leningrad Institute, and belonged to the FAECT and the usual array of Communist front organizations, regularly read the *People's World* at his Berkeley residence and lectured at the Communist school at San Francisco.

On October 6, 1947, Professor Chevalier appeared as a subpoenaed witness before this committee at a public hearing in Oakland. He testified that he was well acquainted with Peter Ivanov, George Eltenton and Frank and Robert Oppenheimer; that in fact both of the Oppenheimer brothers visited the Chevalier home from time to time. He admitted that Eltenton had asked him to see if he could approach Robert Oppenheimer on the basis that the United States and the Soviet Union were allies, and that if we shared our atomic secrets with Russia it would speed world peace. Now Chevalier knew Oppenheimer's views much better than did Steve Nelson. He and Oppenheimer had been intimate friends for 12 years, and frequently visited in each other's homes. Certainly Chevalier, too, was confident that there would be no risk to this traitorous espionage mission—at least, no risk as far as Dr. Oppenheimer was concerned.



When the incident was discovered by government agents and made public by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947, both Chevalier and Oppenheimer denied that the requested information was forthcoming.

Now under ordinary circumstances, what would be the natural reaction of an eminent atomic scientist upon being approached by a person who wanted secret and critical information for transmission to a foreign power? Would he grab the telephone and call the FBI office in San Francisco, or would he simply do nothing? And if he did nothing at all about reporting the incident, denied giving the information and tried to protect an admitted Soviet spy—then would your suspicions be aroused?

Dr. Oppenheimer did not telephone the FBI, and upon being questioned about the occurrence by newspapermen, his statements were reported in the June 30, 1949, issue of the *San Francisco News*. This article declared that Dr. Oppenheimer had absolved Chevalier from the espionage charge, referred to him as a "prize example of a parlor pink," and described him as "embarrassed and confused" when he made the approach.

We do not know how much knowledge Dr. Oppenheimer has of the techniques employed by Soviet espionage agents in matters of such transcendent importance—and there has never been a more vital project in the history of espionage. The obvious fact is that confused and nervous parlor pinks are not selected for even run-of-the-mill espionage work. Certainly not for a mission like this one. Plain, ordinary common sense should indicate that on the contrary only the most disciplined, experienced, devoted and reliable Communists could ever be considered for such an assignment.

Ivanov and Eltenton were perfectly satisfied to have Chevalier do this job. They knew his record, saw him frequently, visited in his home, entertained him in the Soviet Consulate. This was no hastily-hatched scheme. And all three agreed, necessarily, of course, that J. Robert Oppenheimer was the one man most suitable to contact. Steve Nelson was, after all, only one relatively minor figure as compared with this trio—and while Dr. Oppenheimer may have been completely loyal, the point is that in 1943 Comrades Ivanov, Eltenton and Chevalier were unanimous in their considered evaluation of him as a potential traitor to his country.

Here, indeed, was a curious web of associations. Dr. Oppenheimer was a serious student of Marxism and Communism. Many of his scientific associates and closest friends were Party members. His brother and his sister-in-law were Communists. His wife's first husband died in Spain fighting for the Communist cause. His wife's friend, Steve Nelson, was a visitor in Oppenheimer's Berkeley home. Then Oppenheimer was made the bulls-eye of a top-level Communist espionage project by Ivanov, Eltenton, and Chevalier. But there is much more solid evidence. There is the sworn testimony of Paul Crouch, putting Oppenheimer at a Special Section meeting in his own home.

Were it not for a fear that we might be accused of using the device of "guilt by association," which the Communists and most of those who render lip service to the Party tell us we must never, never do, we might be moved to suggest that these peculiar associations and affiliations were highly significant. It was quite proper for Messrs. Eltenton, Nelson, Chevalier and Ivanov to evaluate such things with the most scrupulous care in determining the character of a man from whom they believed they could secure secret atomic information. But when the same criteria are used to determine the loyalty of the same person by non-Communists, it somehow or other becomes an evil and unfair procedure.

The process by which Paul Crouch was able to identify the premises at No. 10 Kenilworth Court as the place where he had addressed the special section meeting in the summer of 1941 has already been described. The committee was impressed by the fact that when Crouch finally managed to locate the residence after weeks of fruitless search, he had no idea who owned it or occupied it during the summer of 1941; and the committee's own independent investigation thereafter disclosed the fact that at the very time Crouch had delivered this highly important lecture, the premises were occupied by Dr. Oppenheimer under a lease from Professor Loran.

Crouch's testimony concerning Dr. Oppenheimer was received because of the background information already in the possession of the committee concerning Dr. Oppenheimer and his wife, and because of his relations with F. A. E. C. T. members such as Eltenton and Kamen and with such other top-level Communists as Professor Chevalier and Steve Nelson. These activities not only occurred in the State of California, but at the state university, and the committee believes they should be made public.

While the hearing was in progress and immediately after Mr. Crouch had testified concerning the 1941 special section meeting, Dr. Oppenheimer was contacted by representatives of the press in New Jersey and issued a statement dated May 9, 1950. In commenting on Crouch's testimony concerning the special section meeting Oppenheimer said: "I have never been a member of the Communist Party. *I never assembled* any such group of people for any such purpose in my home or anywhere else. *I am unable to recall* any gathering in my house that could reasonably have been mistaken for such a meeting. Neither the name Crouch nor the accounts of Mr. and Mrs. Crouch recall to me anyone I have ever known." (Committee's italics.)

The testimony of Mr. Crouch made it quite clear that this meeting, like all of the other special section meetings, was "assembled" by Kenneth May and Rudy Lambert and Dr. Oppenheimer was never said to have "assembled" this particular meeting at his residence.

Dr. Oppenheimer's statement then continued: "I think I should add a further comment. I have made no secret of the fact that I once knew many people in left-wing circles and belonged to several left-wing organizations. The government has known in detail of these matters since

I first started work on the atomic bomb project. These matters also came up about me in *Time* magazine some 18 months ago in which an interview with me was reported in part as follows ‘\* \* \* Until 1936 Oppenheimer had never even voted; he was certainly one of the most unsophisticated people in the world. But in the depression he watched young, finely trained physicists cracking up because they were unemployed; he also heard about relatives forced to leave Nazi Germany. Says Oppenheimer: “I woke up to a realization that politics was a type of life. I became a real left-winger, joined the teacher’s union, had lots of Communist friends. It was what most people do in college or late high school \* \* \* most of what I believed then seems complete nonsense.”

The committee, while still sitting in open session in Oakland, publicly invited Dr. Oppenheimer and his wife to appear and testify under oath. The committee would like to inquire about the political activities of Mrs. Oppenheimer and her first husband; about Dr. Oppenheimer’s own affiliations with other organizations besides the teacher’s union mentioned by him in his prepared statement; about his political connections in San Francisco, and other aspects of his activities that were developed during and since the Oakland hearing.

From the foregoing account one is necessarily impressed by the fact that Steve Nelson was the particular man who replaced Crouch as head of the Communist Party of Alameda County in 1941; that the Soviet Vice Consul, Ivanov, agreed with Eltenton and Chevalier that the way was clear by 1943 to make the all-important effort to secure secret atomic research information from some qualified scientist; that the Soviet espionage ring had developed many reliable contacts in the atomic field through the FAECT and the special section of the Party in Berkeley; that this project was fraught with great danger, because if a mistake was made in gauging the complete reliability of the man from whom the information was requested, and his reaction was that of a normal patriotic American citizen, and he would reach for a telephone and report the entire matter to the nearest FBI office, then the entire espionage ring would be exposed. There is no evidence that Dr. Oppenheimer ever picked up his telephone and called the FBI or any other security agency after Chevalier attempted to extract the critical information from him. The facts are quite plain that these three men, Eltenton, Chevalier and Ivanov, were unanimous in picking Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer as the most suitable man to contact. They knew his record much better than our own security agencies, and they evaluated him as a potential traitor.

## THE KILPATRICK HEARING

During the 1949 Regular Session of the Legislature, the Assembly created an Interim Committee on Crime and Correction and Mr. Vernon Kilpatrick of the Fifty-fifth Assembly District was selected as its chairman. The committee investigated the state law enforcement machinery, studied cases in which police brutality had been charged, held public hearings throughout the State, and generally conducted an investigation of legal procedures and law enforcement in California.

When Assemblyman Kilpatrick's committee undertook a study of the Beverly Hills Police Department the investigation stirred up a controversy between Chief C. H. Anderson and Mr. Kilpatrick. On July 31, 1950, the chief of the Beverly Hills Police Department addressed a typewritten letter to Hon. Sam L. Collins, Speaker of the Assembly, in which Chief Anderson charged that Mr. Kilpatrick was a member of the Communist Party, as follows:

"DEAR MR. COLLINS:

"Due to the fact that this Country is now being placed on a semi-wartime basis and that its security against fifth columnists is vitally important, I wish to call your attention to a serious condition which exists in this State of ours.

"The chairman of the important Assembly Interim Committee on Crime and Correction, Vernon Kilpatrick, is a member of the Communist Party and is following the Communist Party line of conducting intensified and crafty campaign to disrupt law and order as a part of the Communist revolutionary planning.

"Assemblyman Kilpatrick has taken the statements of convicted felons, ex-convicts and other police characters to smear and embarrass law enforcement officers throughout the State. Mr. Kilpatrick, as Chairman of the Crime and Correction Committee, has general knowledge of all the state and county prisons and correctional institutions and has, at the California taxpayers' expense, traveled throughout the United States and visited numerous federal and state penal institutions and as a loyal Communist Party member criticized the operations of the penal institutions of other states.

"I am certain that if the taxpayers of California were aware that they had financed a trip for a Communist to investigate and criticize other penal systems that they would feel, like I do, that a fraud was perpetrated on the taxpayers of California.



"I am writing this letter as I feel that during these critical times that only public officials with unquestionable loyalty to the American way of life should be placed on committees involving state and national security.

"Respectfully yours,

(Signed)

C. H. ANDERSON

Chief of Police

City of Beverly Hills, California"

On the same day, July 31, 1950, Speaker Collins replied to Chief Anderson stating that he considered the charges "of such gravity as to warrant an immediate investigation by the State Senate Interim Un-American Activities Committee," and Collins made a request for such an investigation in a letter to the chairman of this committee, Senator Hugh M. Burns.

On August 6, 1950, Assemblyman Kilpatrick also wrote a letter to Senator Burns, and in it requested that the Un-American Activities Committee subpoena Chief Anderson and give "all facts of the findings the fullest publicity at the earliest possible date."

Pursuant to these written requests from Speaker Collins and Assemblyman Kilpatrick the committee did conduct an extensive investigation and held a public hearing in Los Angeles on Tuesday, September 12, 1950. The witnesses who testified under oath, in the order of their appearance, were Chief Clinton H. Anderson, Ezra F. Chase, Glenn A. Lane, Vernon Kilpatrick, and Ed Gibbons. The committee introduced 13 documents and exhibits and made them a part of the record by reference.

Two things must be made very clear before the evidence is discussed in detail. In the first place the investigation and hearing were requested in writing by Speaker Collins and Assemblyman Kilpatrick; in the second place the committee was not interested in any collateral controversy between Chief Anderson and Assemblyman Kilpatrick. Some considerable attempt was made by witnesses to wander far afield, but as the committee saw it the sole issue was whether there was proof to substantiate Anderson's charges. Senator Burns made these points unmistakably plain when he opened the hearing with the following statement:

"Chairman Burns: The committee will come to order. The chair would like to make a preliminary statement relative to this hearing that we are conducting this morning.

"This hearing is held pursuant to the request of the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Sam Collins, and Assemblyman Kilpatrick.

"The committee did not initiate any investigation into the matter which will be heard today, and the committee is here solely to comply with the request that a full hearing be given the charges made against a Member of the Assembly, and with that thought in mind I believe it is important that it go into the record at this time to clarify the position of the committee in conducting such an inquiry as we are conducting today.



"I will ask the counsel for the committee, Mr. Combs, to read into the record the communications and correspondence received previous to this hearing from the parties concerned and those interested."

The documents referred to were accordingly read into the record in full, and in order to remove any doubt concerning the events that had preceded the hearing, the committee's counsel made the following preliminary statement:

"Mr. Combs: Now, Mr. Chairman, as a preliminary statement, as I told Mr. Kilpatrick in a telephone conversation a few days ago, in preparing for this hearing I had two discussions with Chief Anderson in his office in Beverly Hills. I don't know what his evidence is. I have not talked to any of his witnesses.

I told Chief Anderson and I told Mr. Kilpatrick, over the telephone, that the committee would subpoena any witnesses that either of them wished us to subpoena.

Mr. Anderson wished to subpoena some witnesses and I understand that one or more of them are here. And Mr. Kilpatrick told me that he did not wish to subpoena any witnesses.

We have also served subpoenas on both Mr. Anderson and I presume on Mr. Kilpatrick."

#### CHIEF C. H. ANDERSON

Chief Anderson took the stand as the first witness, testified that he was the author of the letter written on July 31, 1950, and was asked whether or not he understood that the committee was concerned only with the charges made in the letter concerning Communism and Communist Party membership and that the committee was not at all interested in any personal controversy that he might have with Mr. Kilpatrick. That being clearly understood by the witness, he testified that the first time he ever met Kilpatrick was when the latter ordered seizure of certain police records in connection with the investigation of a felony case in the County of Los Angeles. Chief Anderson was served with a subpoena to appear at a hearing, according to his testimony, and when he went down to the state building room mentioned in the subpoena he found that there was no reporter present and no member of the Committee on Crime and Correction was in the room except the chairman, Mr. Kilpatrick. The witness stated that he made some objection to this sort of procedure because it was his understanding that a public hearing was involved, although he was asked no questions, he was not placed under oath, he gave no testimony, no reporter took down the proceedings; only the chairman of the committee was present, and he simply took possession of the records of the Beverly Hills Police Department that were described in the subpoena served on Chief Anderson.

As a part of Anderson's supporting evidence, he presented to the committee a photostatic copy of a petition circulated in behalf of the Communist Party of California in order to qualify that organization for

a place on the ballot in this State. The committee, incidentally, already had a copy of this document which it used in connection with a previous hearing, and it was therefore quite familiar with the photostatic copy presented by Chief Anderson and which was received as an exhibit. The first page of the document carries in large type as a heading the following words, "Communist Party Petition to Participate in the Primary Election." It then reads as follows:

"State of California, County (or City and County) of Los Angeles ss.

To the Honorable, the Secretary of State of the State of California:

We, the undersigned, registered and qualified electors of the State of California, residents of the County (or City and County) of Los Angeles, present to the Secretary of State this petition *and declare that we represent a political party the name of which is Communist Party*, which party said electors desire to participate in the next primary election, to be held August 28, 1934." (Committee's italics.)

The petition contained 100 original signatures, and was circulated in April and May of 1934 by one George H. Dasakis, whose residence was given as 504 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles. The document was sworn to by him on the seventeenth day of May, 1934, and filed with the Los Angeles County Registrar of Voters on May 18, 1934.

Twelve signatures and the addresses of the signatories and the number of the precinct in which each signer lived appeared on page 1. On the second page there were signatures running from number 13 to 37, and on page 3 the second signature, which was number 39, was in pencil, and read: "Vernon Kilpatrick, 1249 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, May 10, 1934."

In addition, Chief Anderson referred a number of times to articles that appeared in the *Daily People's World*, identified as the Communist newspaper of California, and which listed Mr. Kilpatrick in connection with various front organizations and Communist enterprises. Among the other organizations with which Mr. Kilpatrick had in some manner been connected, according to the testimony of Chief Anderson, was an affair held at Wrigley Field, Los Angeles, at which Mr. Paul Robeson appeared. Anderson submitted, in connection with his testimony concerning Kilpatrick's participation in the enterprise as a sponsor, a copy of the *Daily People's World* dated September 30, 1949, and directed the committee's attention to the article on page 3, column 1. Anderson also submitted other copies of the *Daily People's World*, but instead of commenting on each of them at length, the committee prefers to mention them briefly here and will consider each account in detail in connection with the later questioning of Mr. Kilpatrick by the committee counsel.

Chief Anderson testified that Kilpatrick was a speaker at a State-wide Legislative Conference held in the Alexandria Hotel in Los Angeles

on the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of February, 1950, and in that connection cited the *Daily People's World* for February 25th of that year; he submitted a copy of the newspaper for March 31, 1951, containing a photograph of Assemblyman Kilpatrick and praise for his work in the Legislature; he submitted a copy of the *Daily People's World* for November 20, 1938, which mentioned Kilpatrick as one of the sponsors for a fund-raising drive on behalf of the *People's World*; he submitted a copy of the paper for January 21, 1940, which listed Assemblyman Kilpatrick as a sponsor for a meeting in Fresno known as the Conference for Democratic Action; he submitted a copy of the *People's World* for August 30, 1941, showing that Mr. Kilpatrick was a sponsor for a Conference on Civil Rights held in the City of San Francisco; he cited the same issue of the paper to show that Mr. Kilpatrick had endorsed the Northern California Civil Rights Council and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Other copies of the *Daily People's World* presented by Chief Anderson were issues of the paper for March 27, 1943, according to which Kilpatrick endorsed the Hollywood Democratic Committee; April 5, 1943, in which the *People's World* supported Kilpatrick for election to the State Assembly; April 24, 1943, in which Kilpatrick endorsed the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; February 23, 1945, which mentioned Kilpatrick as having appeared and delivered an address at the Downtown Forum in Los Angeles; June 4, 1945, which lauded Mr. Kilpatrick for his work in Sacramento; April 25, 1945, which described him as being present on the speaker's platform at a meeting of the Mobilization for Democracy in Los Angeles; April 3, 1946, which contained an endorsement of Kilpatrick by the Southern California chapter of the National Citizen's Political Action Committee; January 3, 1948, which contained an endorsement of Mr. Kilpatrick's candidacy for the Assembly by the Independent Progressive Party of California; April 27, 1950, wherein Mr. Kilpatrick was described as scheduled to address a Civil Rights Congress meeting at the Park Manor in the City of Los Angeles. In addition, Chief Anderson stated that on May 15, 1948, he went to cover a meeting at the Beverly-Wilshire Hotel and there personally saw Mr. Kilpatrick. The affair was one held to raise money for Henry Wallace, then a candidate for President of the United States. Chief Anderson stated that Adrian Scott was there and spoke, and that Leo Gallagher and Stanley Moffatt were also present.

Chief Anderson also submitted three documents which purported to be typewritten copies of letters exchanged between high Communist Party functionaries in California. Signatures on these letters were typed and were simply signed "Bill" and addressed to "Paul." Since Mr. Kilpatrick's name did not appear in any of these documents and since the committee has been unable to authenticate them, they were only received for purposes of identification and not as actual exhibits.

#### EZRA F. CHASE

Ezra F. Chase, who appeared as one of Chief Anderson's witnesses, testified that he had been a Communist from 1931 until 1937. He said

he had seen Mr. Kilpatrick before but was unable to fix the time and place. It developed that Mr. Chase was well informed concerning Communist-controlled organizations, particularly one, now defunct, known as the Worker's Alliance, and that his Party activities were largely devoted to this group. Chase had circulated petitions to put the Communist Party on the ballot in 1934 and testified that it was obligatory work for all Communist Party members. Not all of the persons who signed the petition were necessarily Communists, according to Mr. Chase, but the documents were circulated among the unemployed and the socially embittered classes because they were found to be more sympathetic toward the Party. The Worker's Alliance was a particularly fertile field, he said.

Chase testified concerning certain organizations at considerable length. He stated positively that labor's Non-Partisan League, the People's Legislative Conference, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and the Mobilization for Democracy were all known to him as Communist fronts. This portion of the witness' testimony is important when considered in conjunction with Mr. Kilpatrick's statements when he testified at a later time during the hearing.

#### GLENN A. LANE

The next witness was Mr. Glenn A. Lane, an attorney whose office is located at 639 South Spring Street in the City of Los Angeles. Mr. Lane acted as counsel for Assemblyman Kilpatrick's committee and advised him throughout the hearing. At all times Mr. Lane conducted himself in a highly ethical manner and cooperated fully throughout the hearing. He testified at considerable length concerning the Madge Meredith case, but since that subject was in no way related to the purpose of the hearing, it is not considered pertinent to this report. During the hearing the chairman expressed the committee's views to Mr. Lane as follows:

"Chairman Burns: That is very true, but it is difficult to make a referral unless we determine or know something about the investigation that is being made, that the gentleman is testifying to here. I don't even know the purpose for which this (Kilpatrick's) committee was created. I don't know for what purpose they are investigating the police department of Beverly Hills, which seems to be pertinent to this controversy between the chief and the Assemblyman. I prefer, speaking for myself, that we do not go into any of these things because I believe they are not relevant to this hearing. We are called here for one purpose, and that is to hear the charges against Mr. Kilpatrick. If he wants to refute these charges, he will have an opportunity to do so. Now, we are getting into a very wide field of inquiry.

"Senator Dilworth: I can say for myself that it is absolutely no refutation of the chief, for you to attack the chief."



## ASSEMBLYMAN VERNON KILPATRICK

Mr. Kilpatrick, who was the next witness, prefaced his testimony by making the following declaration under oath:

"First, I want to categorically deny every charge made in the letter by Chief Anderson to Speaker Sam Collins, with any reference whatsoever to my membership in the Communist Party, now, in the past, or any intent in the future. I am not a member of the Communist Party. I never have been and I never expect to be.

Q. (By Senator Dilworth): Does that apply also to the Communist Political Association?

A. As far as I know, but since I do not mix with Communists I don't know of their organizations, I am a member of no Communist front organization, I can assure you. I have made a few notes here and I am not a good short-hander and some of these notes are not very clear to me, myself, but if there are any questions that you want to ask, I shall be very happy to answer them."

Mr. Kilpatrick then proceeded to describe how he had issued a subpoena which called for certain records from Chief Anderson's office in Beverly Hills and he related certain background occurrences that apparently had generated considerable rancor between the two men, but which were quite irrelevant to the present inquiry.

In commenting on some of the specific charges Anderson had made concerning Communist front activities and affiliations, Assemblyman Kilpatrick said that he knew a woman by the name of Charlotta Bass, a colored woman who publishes a newspaper in Los Angeles known as the *California Eagle*. Mrs. Bass, in preparing to celebrate an anniversary of her paper with a meeting at Wrigley Field, Los Angeles, secured endorsements from many public figures, including Paul Robeson, who participated in the Wrigley Field affair on September 30, 1949. The activities of Mrs. Bass and the tone of her paper are in perfect accord with the political beliefs of Robeson, and are described at length in the five reports heretofore issued by this committee. In commenting on this matter Mr. Kilpatrick said:

"As to the Robeson committee, I had absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with the Robeson committee. The only possible contact where my name could have been used whatsoever on anything with my consent, was that used by Mrs. Bass of the *California Eagle*, which is an entirely different matter.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Was that Charlotta Bass?

A. Yes.

Q. About when was that, Mr. Kilpatrick?

A. Well, it was sometime before the Robeson meeting, if you are thinking of the same meeting I am, when he came here as a speaker.

Q. No. What I am trying to do is fix the time, because Mr. Anderson testified this morning that the Robeson affair was held on the 30th day of September, 1949. Now I am just trying to get your best recollection of when your conference with Mrs. Bass occurred.



A. Well, my conference with Mrs. Bass was probably prior to that meeting.

Q. A short time prior to it?

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. (By Senator Watson) : Did you attend this meeting?

A. No.

Q. The Robeson meeting?

A. No. In talking with Mrs. Bass about another matter entirely, strictly foreign, she said that 'we are having an anniversary of this paper and we would like a congratulation from you for the anniversary.' I have been approached by papers many, many times for an ad or something like that, I pulled \$5 out of my pocket and paid it by cash for an ad in her paper. It seemed that the paper may have been an issue that boosted the Robeson affair. That I do not know. I did not follow it up."

Mr. Kilpatrick categorically denied having been present at the meeting of the Independent Progressive Party for Henry Wallace at the Beverly-Wilshire Hotel in 1948; and in discussing the Communist Party petition to qualify on the state ballot in 1934, he said:

"Q. (By Senator Dilworth) : Did you have any opposition on the I. P. P. ticket?

A. No, I don't think so. He said something about Steffens and some progressive book store, 1807 West Sixth Street. Whether that is Los Angeles or San Francisco, I don't know anything about that at all.

The *People's World* is referred to in my signing of a petition to put the Communist Party on the ballot in 1934. This committee dug that information up and I am very happy that, if after going back 17 years ago to find out about my record, that you have to go back 17 years to find something that was worth—that had any challenge to me whatsoever.

Senator Dilworth : We did not dig that up. It is just a matter in the committee's records. We had that record for a long time. We did not dig it up on your account.

The Witness: Well, the reason I bring that in is that you never did publish—and I don't want to take the committee on, because that would not be the proper thing to do—but you never did publish the friendly reference that the *People's World* made to my friend Jack (indicating Senator Jack B. Tenney) and you never did publish Jack's own record in opening up the officials to the Communist Party in 1937. That was, as far as I recollect, three years after I signed this petition. I do not deny that I signed that petition. That is my signature and I signed it for the same reason and argument, then, for the same reason that Tom Dewey came out two years ago and said, 'Let us keep them out in the open,' in his debates up in Oregon and for the same reason that J. Edgar Hoover in the *United States News* only a month or less than a month ago, said it would be much easier to deal with the Communists if you had them out in the open."

In response to questions Mr. Kilpatrick admitted that he consented to act as a sponsor for a \$60,000 drive to raise funds for the Communist *Daily People's World* in 1938, and stated that he knew it was a Communist newspaper at the time. He also admitted that he was a sponsor for the Conference for Democratic Action which was held in Fresno in January, 1940, and he presumed that he had sponsored the State-wide Conference for Civil Rights in San Francisco in 1941, his name having appeared on the list of sponsors for that affair which was printed in the August 30, 1941, issue of the *Daily People's World*. These were Communist front groups.

Chief Anderson had mentioned Kilpatrick in connection with a meeting known as the Downtown Forum, another Communist-dominated group. The committee had these meetings covered for several years, and had received informants reports and literature issued by the organization. It should be added that none of the committee's records or information concerning the Downtown Forum or any other organization or person or activity were made available to either Assemblyman Kilpatrick or Chief Anderson prior to the hearing.

Mr. Kilpatrick's testimony about his presence at the Downtown Forum follows:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): All right, now. At the Downtown Forum, that matter which appears in a circular here, which I will show you, you were listed as a speaker and I presume that is the occasion to which you referred?

A. I think so.

Q. Now, that was located at 215 $\frac{1}{2}$  South Spring Street, according to our report and according to the address given on this document. Is that your recollection of the address?

A. I think that would be about it.

Q. Of course, it is a long time ago. It was in 1945. Can you muster up any general recollection of the event at all? I mean, about how many people were present?

A. Oh, maybe a hundred and fifty, something like that, maybe two hundred, probably a hundred and fifty.

Q. The meeting started at about 7.30 in the evening, didn't it?

A. It was an evening meeting, 7.30 or 8.00 o'clock.

Q. Who was the chairman of the evening, if you recall? Wasn't that Mr. Steffens, Herman Steffens?

A. It could have been, but I don't know.

Q. Well, our report from an informant who was there shows that he was the chairman and he was registered as a member of the Communist Party in 1941 and again in 1944. You spoke, according to our report, beginning at 8 o'clock and ceased speaking at about 9. Is that your recollection?

A. Well, they all said I was long-winded. I don't know.

Q. Well, an hour isn't so bad.

A. I think probably about three quarters of an hour.

Q. On the north wall of the room in which you spoke, did you notice a picture of Karl Marx framed on the wall?

A. I don't remember it was.

Q. And underneath the picture, did you notice a table with literature on it, that was distributed, and some of which was sold and some of which was given away?

A. There was no activity of anything of that nature when I was present, that I knew anything about.

Q. Did you leave right after you spoke?

A. I did.

Q. And you left while other people were still there?

A. I did.

Q. Do you recall the chairman of the meeting starting his talk by mentioning the *People's World* and that they had supported the Roosevelt administration?

A. No, I don't.

Q. Do you recall a speaker calling attention to the scientific advancements of the Soviet Union and particularly with regard to a new species of cotton they had succeeded in growing there? Do you remember that?

A. No, I don't recall anything about what was said on either side, what I said or what they said. I know they were, for the most part, a bunch of unemployed and probably on relief, most of them on relief, and naturally they had their own special slant generally, but I was not informed at any time of them being in the Communist affiliations and I did not ask.

Q. And you didn't make any investigation to find out?

A. No."

When questioned concerning his affiliation with the Mobilization for Democracy in 1945 Assemblyman Kilpatrick stated that he remembered being affiliated in some manner but couldn't remember the details. He was listed in a publication issued by this organization as having spoken at one of its meetings in August, 1945, and when shown the document Mr. Kilpatrick stated that it was probably accurate.

He distinctly recalled attending a joint meeting of the California Legislative Conference, the Civil Rights Congress, and the National Lawyers' Guild in 1948 and making a short talk. This committee considers all of these organizations to be Communist dominated.

Assemblyman Kilpatrick was listed in the *Daily People's World* for April 27, 1950, as a sponsor for the Civil Rights Congress, and when questioned he stated that he remembered being so listed but did not believe that he had specifically authorized the use of his name.

In response to questions by Senator Dilworth Mr. Kilpatrick testified that he had met Dorothy Healy several years ago, but had not seen her since. Mrs. Healy joined the Young Communist League when she was a teen-ager, and rose steadily in the ranks of the Party. She was extremely active in agricultural strikes, helped guide the activities of the Workers' Alliance and is now head of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County. Mr. Kilpatrick was unable to remember whether he had ever been a member of the Workers' Alliance, *but stated that he did recall Mr. Ezra Chase, the former Communist, and believed that he was a member of the Workers' Alliance.*

When asked whether his committee had been criticized for following the Communist Party line before Chief Anderson made his open charges, Mr. Kilpatrick replied that such criticism was made in January, 1950, when his committee conducted a hearing in Oakland. He was then shown a booklet titled: "Report to the Executive Committee, Post 5, American Legion, by Frank S. Canario, Adjutant." Mr. Kilpatrick had not seen the booklet before, and it was introduced as an exhibit.

According to the Legion report Bertram Edises and Robert Truehaft, Oakland lawyers for the Civil Rights Congress, had worked with Mr. Robert Powers, investigator for the Kilpatrick committee, and materially helped him prepare for the Oakland hearing, Edises having even made a trip to Sacramento to confer with representatives of the committee.

Thus the Kilpatrick committee's chief investigator obtained much of his information for the Oakland hearing from Messrs. Edises and Truehaft, who represented the Communist-dominated Civil Rights Congress—the organization for which Assemblyman Kilpatrick had openly manifested his friendship and support by acting as its sponsor and speaking at its meetings in Los Angeles.

It should be added that Bertram Edises had also acted as counsel for Chapter 25, FAECT, mentioned prominently in that section of this report dealing with Communist espionage activities in Alameda County, and that he was elected an alternate member of the Communist State Committee in 1944. In 1946 he was lecturing at the Communist school in San Francisco, and in 1950 he ran unsuccessfully on the Independent Progressive ticket against Mr. Frank Coakley for district attorney of Alameda County.

Mr. Ed Gibbons then asked to be heard, although he had not been subpoenaed, in behalf of Chief Anderson. His testimony was only cumulative and led to protracted arguments between the witness and Mr. Lane and with Kilpatrick. We therefore see no purpose in presenting it here.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The undisputed facts which were developed from the Kilpatrick hearing were: That Chief C. A. Anderson of the Beverly Hills Police Department wrote to Speaker Collins and flatly accused Assemblyman Kilpatrick of being a Communist Party member and following the Communist Party line; that a hearing by this committee was requested by both Collins and Kilpatrick; that the sole issue at the hearing was the determination of the truth or falsity of Chief Anderson's charges; that Assemblyman Kilpatrick voluntarily took the witness stand, after categorically denying the charges, and testified at length concerning his affiliations.

By documentary evidence, corroborated by the sworn testimony of Assemblyman Kilpatrick, he signed a petition to put the Communist Party on the State ballot in 1934. He said he neglected to read the petition before he affixed his name to the declaration thereon to the effect



that he then actually represented the Communist Party. By way of explaining his motive, Mr. Kilpatrick told the committee that he believed the petition was a good thing because, as he put it, it would "keep them out in the open."

Four years later Assemblyman Kilpatrick consented to act as sponsor for the *Daily People's World* financial drive to raise \$60,000 and testified that he was then fully aware of the Communist character of this publication. A complimentary subscription to the paper was given to him shortly thereafter.

In January, 1940, Mr. Kilpatrick was listed as a sponsor for the Conference for Democratic Action in Fresno, a Communist front. Other sponsors included Dr. Thomas Addis, Joseph W. Aidlin, Herbert Biberman, Louise Bransten, Philip M. Connelly, Lou Goldblatt, Assemblyman Augustus F. Hawkins, Don R. Healy, Robert W. Kenny, Stanley Mofatt, Carey McWilliams, Dudley Nichols, Alice Orans, Sam Ornitz, William J. Plunkert, Paul Schlipf, and Herbert Sorrell. The other Communist front affiliations of these persons may be found in previous reports issued by this committee. On August 30, 1941, the *Daily People's World* mentioned Mr. Kilpatrick as a sponsor for a Statewide Conference on Civil Rights in San Francisco. Other sponsors included Robert W. Kenny, Philip W. Connelly, William L. Elconin, Sadie Ornitz, Carey McWilliams and Charlotta Bass.

In February, 1945, Mr. Kilpatrick spoke at a meeting of the Downtown Forum, heretofore mentioned.

In August, 1945, Mr. Kilpatrick appeared on the speakers platform at a meeting of the Mobilization for Democracy in Los Angeles. Among those who were active in this Communist-controlled organization were: Robert W. Kenny, William Bidner, Sanford Goldner, Assemblyman Augustus F. Hawkins, Professor Leonard Bloom, Abraham Minkus, Professor Franklin Fearing, Eleanor Abowitz, Carey McWilliams, Leo Gallagher, Philip M. Connelly, Dr. Mike Davis, Pauline Lauber Finn, Albee Slade and Charlotta Bass.

In November, 1948, Assemblyman Kilpatrick participated in a joint meeting of three notorious Communist fronts: the Statewide Legislative Conference, the Los Angeles Chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild and the Civil Rights Congress. This meeting at the Alexandria Hotel in Los Angeles was in protest of the Federal Grand Jury action in citing several admitted Communists for contempt.

In September, 1950, Assemblyman Kilpatrick was listed as a sponsor for the Wrigley Field affair where Paul Robeson sang the praises of Charlotta Bass's Party line paper, the *California Eagle*. As has been stated, Mr. Kilpatrick's name was personally solicited by Mrs. Bass, who also got a \$5 contribution from him.

On April 27, 1950, Assemblyman Kilpatrick was listed in the *Daily People's World* as a sponsor for the Los Angeles convention of the Civil Rights Congress, held on April 30th. Mr. Kilpatrick recalled his name was so listed, but couldn't specifically testify whether or not he had given his consent.



In view of the foregoing the committee concludes that Chief Anderson's charge of Communist Party membership was not supported by the evidence he produced; and in view of Assemblyman Kilpatrick's admitted connection with the Communist Party petition, the *Daily People's World*, the Conference for Democratic Action, the State-wide Conference for Civil Rights, the Downtown Forum, the Mobilization for Democracy, the *California Eagle* and Civil Rights Congress, the committee is forced to conclude that Assemblyman Kilpatrick was obviously furthering what Chief Anderson referred to as the Party line.

The committee which Mr. Kilpatrick headed had access to a mass of extremely critical information. It knew the location of cell blocks in county and city penal institutions, it knew the location and operating personnel of police radio stations, riot squads, and the allocation of police manpower at various times of the day and night in the metropolitan cities of this State—all being data of great practical benefit to the Communist apparatus. In Oakland the committee's chief investigator was preparing a hearing in collaboration with Bertram Edises, Communist lawyer for the Civil Rights Congress. This organization is so close to being an integral part of the Communist Party itself, in fact its legal arm, that it can hardly qualify as a mere front. With Kilpatrick as chairman of the committee admittedly connected with the nine Communist-sponsored activities mentioned above, and his chief investigator preparing hearings with the enthusiastic assistance of Edises, Truehaft, and the Civil Rights Congress, criticism was inevitable.

This committee has no desire to impugn the integrity or loyalty of Assemblyman Kilpatrick. The undisputed record, however, speaks clearly for itself. His first contact with Communism, so far as we are aware, was in 1934 when he signed a petition to put the Party on the ballot and stated that he then represented the Communist Party. His association with Communist enterprises and Communist front organizations then *continued over a period of 16 years*. In view of this record, we cannot believe that Mr. Kilpatrick should head a committee such as the Interim Committee on Crime and Correction. In our view his continuance as chairman of such a committee would inevitably invite public criticism such as resulted during his committee's activities in Oakland. The chairman of a committee on Crime and Corrections, especially during these times, should be above the slightest suspicion of association with Communist front organizations.

At the conclusion of the Kilpatrick hearing, and during the proceedings, Mr. Kilpatrick's attorney, Mr. Lane, Chief Anderson and Assemblyman Kilpatrick individually expressed their appreciation for the fair and objective fashion with which the hearing was conducted. Since most of the evidence that was introduced was of a documentary character, it was a relatively simple matter to build a solid transcript, and the frank statements of Mr. Kilpatrick in connection with his various affiliations and activities removed any possible doubt in the minds of the members of this committee concerning the accuracy of the facts on which the foregoing conclusions were based.

# COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

In 1948 this committee issued a report which was almost wholly devoted to Communist front organizations. Since 1948 many important new fronts have appeared and many of the old ones have either gone out of business or changed their names.

Before listing the current fronts, some general discussion of the nature and purposes of these organizations should be given for the benefit of those laymen who are not familiar with this highly important adjunct to the Communist Party. The Communist front is an organization whose members are, for the most part, not Communists and who are quite innocent of the carefully concealed control of the organization. Some fronts are conceived, created and operated by the Party. Others are existing non-Communist groups that are infiltrated until the Communists are insinuated into positions of control from which they can dominate every activity of the group.

The whole front system was, of course, conceived in the Soviet Union. Karl Radek, Otto Kuusinen, Willi Muenzenburg and Georgi Dimitrov were the founders of the Communist front concept as a part of the international Communist solar system, and their instructions to foreign Parties may be found in the theses and statutes of the Comintern and in the decisions of the Comintern's executive committee.

Through this system of fronts the Party has achieved amazing success in penetrating almost every phase of American life. On the labor front, in our educational institutions, in the motion picture industry, in the newspaper world, in high positions of our Federal Government, in scientific and research circles, in the administration of welfare and relief—in fact in all activities that the Party deems suitable for its influences we find these front organizations actively functioning and actually controlled by the Communist Party of the United States.

Fronts are used as media for recruiting lush crops of ultra-liberals into the Party under the illusion that they are enlisting in an international crusade against Fascism; they are used to mold American thinking to the international Communist Party line, and they are used for the purpose of keeping a steady supply of money flowing through the various fronts and eventually into the treasury of the Communist Party itself.

There have been fronts to promote peace, Kremlin style; fronts to turn us away from Chiang Kai-shek and to woo favors from us for the Chinese "People's" Government; fronts to protect refugees from Fascism; fronts to protect such international Communist functionaries as Gerhart Eisler; fronts by which the Party seeks to divide our people and whip up racial antagonisms through such organizations as the Citizen's Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth; fronts to foment and run strikes; fronts to keep a steady barrage of smears

and criticism leveled at our courts, our law enforcement agencies and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The effect of these hundreds of organizations on our American way of life is incalculable. It has been found that the most successful weapon through which these organizations can be fought is public exposure through carefully documented evidence; and exposure of this type drives non-Communists away from the temptation of affiliating with these organizations, and reduces them to a weak and relatively impotent position.

In analyzing individual affiliations with these various groups many factors must be considered with great care to avoid injustices. Thus many people who oppose the Franco type of totalitarian rule were drawn into various Spanish loyalty fronts during the period of the Spanish Revolution; and many Jewish people were lured into the Anti-Nazi League when Hitler was persecuting the Jewish people in Germany. Most of those who affiliated with these organizations quietly dropped out when they became aware of the hypocritical Communist control. A few, however, were converted to Marxism and have gone steadily on from one front to another.

Many non-Communists have been members of both the Spanish Loyalists fronts and the Anti-Nazi League—and such affiliation should not be used to indicate the slightest pro-Communist inclination. In fact many of these ex-fronters are now among the most forthright anti-Communists. On the other hand, there are certain fronts so patently Communist in character that one must be naive, indeed, to join innocently and downright moronic to remain a member for any length of time without knowing precisely what he is doing. Typical of this type of front is the American-Russian Institute, the Civil Rights Congress and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. The Communist schools in California are so much an integral part of the Party apparatus that they cannot be classified as merely front organizations. Originally these institutions both in San Francisco and Los Angeles were known as Workers' Schools and no effort was made to disguise their Communist status. In San Francisco the Workers' School became the Tom Mooney Labor School and finally the California Labor School. Under the direction of Holland Roberts, formerly a professor at Stanford University, it is more Communist now than ever. In Los Angeles the Workers' School became the Peoples' Educational Center and it now functions as the Southern California branch of the California Labor School.

The purpose of this section of the report is to bring the list of front organizations up to date. No attempt will be made to include them all, since space will not permit such exhaustive treatment and because many of the smaller and relatively unimportant fronts are whipped up so hurriedly for some specific purpose and utilized for such a short period of time that they make only a brief flash across the horizon of the Communist solar system.

As the Party goes deeper and deeper underground its so-called "defense" fronts become correspondingly more important. These organizations of sympathetic lawyers have always been of the greatest practical

support to the Party. Through the International Red Aid section of the Comintern, these groups of pro-Communist lawyers sprang up in various countries of the world. In the United States many attorneys are devoting their entire time to the affairs of Party members and front organizations and to the Communist-dominated trade unions. An entire report might well be written about the disruptive techniques employed by these officers of our courts. We have already mentioned the vast difference between lawyers who resort to every cheap artifice to promulgate Marxian propaganda, to intimidate friendly witnesses, to further the class struggle and use the court or the committee as a means of parading their Marxian contempt for these symbols of our system of government, and we have contrasted those lawyers with attorneys who, on the other hand, being non-Communists, conduct themselves with the dignity and propriety which is expected of them as officers of our courts.

## INTERNATIONAL RED AID—MOPR

As the legal arm of the international Communist conspiracy International Red Aid, or MOPR, functioned as a subdivision of the Comintern as early as 1922. The initials MOPR represent the Russian words for International Class War Prisoners Aid Society. In 1925 it was described by Gregory Zinoviev, then head of the Comintern, as follows: "The Executive Committee of the Comintern regards the International Red Aid as one of its branches and indeed as one of the most important of them."

Under the direction of Klara Zetkin and Willi Muenzenberg MOPR flourished and developed internationally at a rapid pace and also expanded rapidly in the United States from the date of its inception here in June, 1925, under the leadership of James B. Canon, a charter member of the Communist Party of the United States.

In this country MOPR has operated under the name of International Labor Defence (ILD) since about 1928, it formerly having been known simply as International Red Aid. The California headquarters was located in Room 410, 1006 Market Street, San Francisco, and in Room 317, 127 South Broadway in Los Angeles. From these offices the state-wide activities of the ILD were directed during the era 1935-1939. Reports were regularly sent from these offices to Louis Coleman, who correlated the nation-wide activities of the organization from his office at 80 East 11th Street in New York City. It is significant to note that the Communist Party district of which California was a part was District 13 comprising the states of California, Arizona and Nevada, and that the International Labor Defense was also divided into national districts and California was in District 13 which was identical with the geographical limits of the Communist Party district which bore the same number. The ILD in this State was operated under the direction of such veteran Communists as Elaine Black, Ida Roth and Leo Gallagher.



From documentary sources, principally through reports and letters, there was a constant and intimate liaison between the ILD and the American Civil Liberties Union in California. Leo Gallagher, chief counsel for the ILD, was also an officer in the southern California chapter of the Civil Liberties Union in 1935 and naturally did his utmost to further the Marxian class struggle concept in both organizations simultaneously.

Carol Weiss King, in 1917 a research worker for the Civil Liberties Union in New York, has played an exceedingly important role in the organization and direction of a wide variety of Communist legal aid fronts in this country. The high level on which this lady operates is indicated by the fact that she has acted as counsel for Earl Browder, Israel Amter, Robert Minor, Sam Carr of the Canadian espionage apparatus, Harry Bridges, Jay Peters and the Eisler brothers, Hans and Gerhart. She also was a contact for Hede Massing when the latter was a Soviet agent in New York.

Mrs. King and her law partner, the late Joseph R. Brodsky, helped organize the ILD in this country, and all lawyers for the ILD have zealously followed its plain directive to "transform the prisoners bench into a revolutionary platform. From the defendant, become the accuser. Organize mass defense to mobilize the masses against bourgeois fascist justice." In the *Saturday Evening Post* for February 17, 1950, Mr. Craig Thompson traces the activities of Mrs. King and points out that "if all lawyers followed the directives of the ILD all legal process would become a shambles and courtrooms propaganda rostrums, which is, of course, what Red Aid wanted." This committee can show by transcripts of its hearings of the past 10 years, that in California, at least, those lawyers who specialize in representing Communist clients have followed this directive to the letter and with considerable enthusiasm.

The California attorneys whose disruptive tactics have long been familiar to this committee are: Richard Gladstein, Ben Margolis, William Esterman, Herbert Resner, Harold Sawyer, Selma Mikels Bachelis, Esther Shandler, John T. McTernan and Leo Gallagher. It should be added that the right to practice law in California is not an absolute but rather a qualified right. It is qualified because of the peculiarly confidential relationship that exists between attorney and client; because the lawyer is an officer of the court; because the public interest must be protected against the unethical practitioner just as it must be protected against an abortionist, or a druggist who illegally sells narcotics, or a grocer who deals in contaminated food. This qualification of the right to practice law flows from the concept that the public interest is always paramount to the rights of the individual and that it is therefore proper to qualify these individual rights for the benefit of the people as a whole.

Some members of the California Bar who habitually represent Communist fronts and Communist Party members are themselves Communists. An example of this type of attorney is Bertram Edises, his election as an alternate member of the State Communist Committee having been



proclaimed by the *Daily People's World*. It does seem odd that while Mr. Edises would be deprived of his right to practice if he persistently violated the sacrosanct canons of legal ethics—the Marquis of Queensbury rules of the legal profession—yet he freely furthers the Communist conspiracy to tear down our entire system of government and the Bar is apparently quite unconcerned about that far more serious matter. It would appear that the State Bar should add to its long list of ancient ethical requirements a provision that because Communists are necessarily traitors to this country, the public has at least as much right to be protected from their subversive activities as from the lawyer who represents adverse interests or mingles some of his client's money with his own. Many believe that it is much worse to license a Communist lawyer and turn him loose on a long-suffering public than to disbar someone who violates the existing rules of ethics.

This is not an argument to deny Communists a right of legal representation before the courts; it is simply an argument against the licensing of Communists to use our courts for the purpose of destroying them as parts of the capitalist class-enemy—which is something quite different.

## NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

When the activities of the ILD became generally recognized as Communist-controlled, it slowly faded from view and has now been replaced by an organization called the Civil Rights Congress. All of these organizations stemmed from the MOPR—and were conceived, organized and run by Communists. The National Lawyers Guild was purely a home grown enterprise, on the other hand, and is an excellent example of an organization started by non-Communist liberal lawyers and completely taken over by the Party's concealed infiltration technique.

The National Lawyers Guild was conceived by Mr. Morris Ernst, a sincere and liberal attorney. He had served on the board of directors of the Garland Fund with such prominent Communists as William Z. Foster and with such enthusiastic fellow travelers as Professor Robert Morss Lovett and Scott Nearing. The ILD received \$54,000 from this fund, and substantial amounts were also sent to the *Daily Worker*, the Young Communist League, the Trade Union Unity League and other Party enterprises.

Mr. Ernst served as chairman of the Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio in 1936, and the usual horde of fellow travelers were listed as members of that committee. Some of them, who should by now be quite familiar to the readers of these reports, were: Louis Adamic, Joseph R. Brodsky, Abram Flaxer, Professor Walter Gelhorn, Langston Hughes, Rockwell Kent, Carol Weiss King, John Howard Lawson, Professor Robert Morss Lovett, George Seldes, Mary Van Kleeck.

The record of Mr. Ernst's front affiliations is not impressive in view of their character, and in view of his actions in fighting Communism

during the past several years they are certainly no indication of a fellow-traveling inclination on his part. His affiliations with a Spanish Democracy front, with consumers fronts and the fact that he dropped completely out of all front activity are evidences of the sincere liberal and non-Communist attitude of the founder of the National Lawyers Guild.

Mr. Ernst, like many Roosevelt Democrats of his time, regarded the American Bar Association as too ultra-conservative and believed that a more liberal organization of lawyers should be formed. A convention was held in a Washington hotel on February 19-22, 1937, the groundwork for the meeting having theretofore been laid at a dinner arranged by Ernst in December, 1936, and as a result of these meetings, the National Lawyers Guild was launched.

A national organization of liberal lawyers was made to order for Communist infiltration, and the Party propaganda machinery was immediately set in motion to pave the way. The attorney for the Soviet Embassy welcomed the Lawyers Guild in a *New Masses* article and its activities received flattering treatment in the *Daily Worker* and the *Daily People's World*. The ILD yearbook for 1936-1937 stated: "The emergence of the National Lawyers Guild is regarded by the International Labor Defense as a heartening expression of thousands of American attorneys to the American principles of Democracy, and a concrete step on their part in the struggle to maintain and enlarge democratic rights."

On September 9, 1939, no less an authority than Earl Browder testified before the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities that the Lawyers Guild was in fact a Communist transmission belt.

The genealogy of the Guild is traced in a report recently issued by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, which quotes Louis F. Budenz, a former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States as follows: "In the National Lawyers Guild there is a complete duplicate of the Communist Party's hopes and aspirations in that field, although there are a number of non-Communists in the National Lawyers Guild. In fact, some of their lawyers locally are not Communists, but play the Communist game wittingly or unwittingly."

By 1939 the Guild was so thoroughly infested with Communists that Ernst introduced a resolution condemning Fascism, Naziism and Communism and pressed for its adoption at the Chicago convention. He ran smack into a solid wall of vociferous opposition led by Carol Weiss King and went down to defeat.

Ernst denounced the Guild as Communist-controlled and resigned. He was followed by Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson, Judge Ferdinand Pecora and Adolph A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State. The latter declared " \* \* \* It is now obvious that the present management of the Guild is not prepared to take any stand that conflicts with the Communist Party line."

In the article by Craig Thompson heretofore mentioned, Mr. Ernst is quoted as follows: “\* \* \* To guild disclaimers of Communist domination Ernst replies with a lusty ‘Bah! They’ve been running it since 1939’.” He should know.

### PRO-COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES

Since 1939 the National Lawyers Guild has opposed all legislative committees investigating Communism, has taken a position against the federal loyalty program, has provided legal counsel for Communists, fellow travelers, fronts and Soviet spys. It has concentrated much of its attention on the Federal Bureau of Investigation and has directed torrents of abusive criticism against the Bureau and its director. On February 7, 1950, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover quoted a Guild member as having declared in 1940: “If we keep up the constant criticism of the FBI and of Hoover, and if this criticism is systematically kept up and followed all the time, particularly by organizations, it can and will weaken the power of the F. B. I. and hamper them very effectively.”

The National Lawyers Guild has assiduously followed the Communist Party line since 1939, even making the overnight complete switch on June 22, 1941, as may be readily established by comparing *Daily Worker* articles immediately before and after that highly significant date. The Guild has opposed fingerprinting aliens; supported Harry Bridges; urged abolition of the Congressional and California Committees on Un-American Activities; protested trial of the Communist National Committee members at Foley Square; waged a campaign of smears and villification against J. Edgar Hoover and the F. B. I.; protested contempt proceedings against the defiant Hollywood witnesses; protested against the Federal Government’s loyalty program; opposed the non-Communist oath provision of the Taft-Hartley Act; opposed universal military training; protested against the Voorhis Act which required registration of organizations that are under foreign control; advocated withdrawal of all U. S. troops from China and urged American aid to Communist China; opposed the European recovery program; denounced the United States for insisting upon maintaining secrecy in connection with atomic weapons research. The Congressional Committee’s report on the National Lawyers Guild shows by a carefully documented tabulation that in maintaining these attitudes the Guild and the Communist Party line have been in one hundred percent accord.

### PERSONNEL OF LAWYERS GUILD

Among the leaders of the National Lawyers Guild are the following persons whose records are too well known to merit detailed discussion here: Carol Weiss King, Professor Walter Gelhorn, Osmund K. Fraenkel, Abraham J. Isserman, Lee Pressman, Maurice Sugar, Abraham Unger, Clifford J. Durr, Martin Popper, Harry Sacher, John Caughlin.

California lawyers active in the Guild have included: Robert W. Kenny, Carey McWilliams, Bartley C. Crum, Aubrey Grossman, Harold

M. Sawyer, Clore Warne, John T. McTernan, J. Bruce Fratis, George G. Oldshausen, Richard Gladstein, George Slaff, William B. Esterman and Bertram Edises.

As of June 1, 1950, there were 3,891 members of the Guild, including 702 law students. In California there are very active chapters in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Hollywood and at Boalt Hall of Law University of California in Berkeley, and at the University's Law School in San Francisco.

In view of the foregoing it is this committee's considered opinion that the National Lawyers Guild is controlled by the Communist Party and should be so listed by the Attorney General of the United States.

## THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

When a Communist or a front organization runs afoul of the law or is brought before a legislative investigating committee the Civil Rights Congress immediately provides legal talent, financial support, and propaganda. This powerful front is officially listed as Communist controlled by the Attorney General of the United States, and, like the National Lawyers Guild, is so vital to the Party that it merits special and detailed attention.

The Civil Rights Congress resulted from a merger of the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. These two organizations simply disappeared and were replaced by the Civil Rights Congress and several less important front organizations that functioned on a lower level.

In April, 1946, a National Congress on Civil Rights was convened at Detroit at the behest of Carey McWilliams, Norman Corwin, Paul Robeson, Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, the late Colonel Evans Carlson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Vito Marcantonio, and others. These "congresses" are typical maneuvers through which the Party launches its front activities such as the Writers Congress, the Congress of American Women, the Congress of Spanish-Speaking People, the Congress for Social and Unemployment Insurance, etc.

Civil Rights Congress was created at the Detroit meeting in 1946 and opened national headquarters at 205 East 42d Street, New York City. It now boasts at least 75 chapters in 15 states. Among those who have served on the national board are such chronic Communist frontiers as Paul Robeson, Dashiell Hammett, John Howard Lawson, Hugh Bryson, Charlotta Bass, Philip M. Connelly, Max Yergan, Herbert K. Sorrell, and Carol Weiss King.

In 1949 Aubrey Grossman was Pacific Coast Director of the Civil Rights Congress. He was, at the same time, Educational Director for the Communist Party of San Francisco and is a former law associate of Richard Gladstein in that city.

The San Francisco headquarters of the Congress is at 28 McAllister Street. The East Bay office is operated by Decca Truehaft at 1740 University Avenue, Berkeley. In Los Angeles the headquarters has been at 206 South Spring Street and 326 West Third. The former address was



shared with another front, the Mobilization for Democracy, and at the latter headquarters with two other fronts, the Emergency Action Conference and the Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Support Labor's Rights.

The distinction between the functions of the National Lawyers Guild and the Civil Rights Congress must be made clear. The prime purpose of the guild is to recruit liberal lawyers to the Red cause. The Congress is much closer to the Party. It provides funds for such international Communist functionaries as Gerhart Eisler; it provides bail for persons convicted of contempt; it wages a constant fight against "police brutality" which it automatically charges upon the arrest of racial minority members or Communists; it maintains an intimate liaison with high-ranking Soviet officials. It also whips up mass picketing and hysteria, as it did in Los Angeles on August 7, 1948.

At noon on that date, following some preliminary publicity in the *Daily People's World*, about 100 people assembled in front of the Federal Building in Los Angeles. Ann Shore, well known in affairs of this character for many years, arrived in a 1936 Ford sedan, which bore California license number 7V105. This car was registered to Frieda Rapoport, 5331 Baltimore Street, Los Angeles, who is also an old hand at these demonstrations but who prefers to work in the background. The car was loaded, not only with Miss Shore, but with leaflets, placards, circulars, picket signs and other propaganda material.

A picket line was formed in a circle in front of the entrance to the Federal Building, and on the first lap each picket was handed a sign to carry. So quickly was this affair staged that one colored man made two rounds bearing a sign which read: "We of the American-Jewish Congress protest the Foley Square persecution," before the mistake was rectified.

Prominent among the pickets were Leo Gallagher, ILD attorney, Louis Schwartz, of the Downtown Forum, and Ted Kalman, of the *Daily People's World*. This particular occurrence is described as typical of Civil Rights Congress activities of the character.

### CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS PROTECTS LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE

When one front organization is exposed the others are quick to swing into action. Thus through the intricate solar system of fronts, all of which revolve steadily around the Party itself, they serve to protect each other by propaganda and pressure.

Bearing in mind that it required two years of constant exposure to convince many prominent Californians that American Youth for Democracy was simply the Young Communist League under another name, the Party was considerably nettled when the committee exposed the Labor Youth League as simply a thin disguise for American Youth for Democracy.

In a booklet issued shortly after the Labor Youth League hearing in Los Angeles, the Civil Rights Congress devoted pages 43 and 44 to an



attack on this committee under the heading: "The Witch Hunt that Failed." The first paragraph of the comment read:

"As the 1950 curtain-raiser in the Nation's over-all program of political repression, character assassination, and 'guilt by association' the devious activities of the California State Un-American Activities Committee are worth considerable study."

There follows a characteristic tirade of abuse and sarcasm apparently calculated to convince the liberal followers of the Civil Rights Congress that the hearing was a dud. The committee has learned from experience that its success may quite accurately be measured by the volume of angry protests emitted by the Communist propaganda machine.

Considering that the Labor Youth League was founded in May, 1949, and was launched in Southern California in June of that year, the committee believed it had done fairly well to develop an informant in the group, prepare a hearing, secure copies of the constitution and by-laws, subpoena the leaders and hold a hearing by January, 1950. When the Civil Rights Congress and the *Daily People's World* uttered loud screams of outrage the committee knew it had indeed hit a sore spot.

While the Civil Rights Congress purports to protect the civil liberties of the members of minority political and racial groups, the foreign-born, and trade unionists, it displays an utter lack of concern for everybody but Communists and fellow travelers. In maintaining this attitude the Congress commits a wide number of serious Marxian sins, including the most flagrant sort of studied discrimination and class prejudice, but this inconsistent and hypocritical attitude is common to Communist fronts.

If, as the Congress says it believes, all Americans are entitled to equal protection under the law, the solicitous attention of this legal arm of the Communist Party should be extended to pickpockets and bums and alcoholics and fallen women and juvenile delinquents. The Civil Rights Congress, on the contrary, behaves as though only Communists and their sycophants are entitled to enjoy civil liberties in America. Gerhart Eisler was qualified to have the Congress fly to his aid, but if one stripped him of his status as an international Communist functionary he would be just another little man of German descent, and we very much doubt if his civil liberties would at all concern the Civil Rights Congress.

#### SUPPORTERS OF CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

In the booklet issued by the Civil Rights Congress which has heretofore been mentioned, there is a list of individuals and organizations from whom donations were received in order to finance the publication of the booklet. The committee deems it important to list these individuals and organizations for the purpose of indicating the type and sources of financial support which accrues to the Civil Rights Congress. The list is as follows:

Anna and Nathan Shapiro; Anderson Lark; J. P. F. O. (Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order) Lodge 761, San Francisco; a Friend; Korean Independents; Everybody's Supermarket; Nan Blair; Dr. Serra S.

Rifkin; David Hyun; a Group of Seven; Mr. and Mrs. Bernstein; International Workers Order—American Russian Branch 3151; Morris and Rose Freed; in memory of Rose Lishner and Rose Freed—Arthur Lishner; Tri-City Chapter of the American Veterans Committee; Leon Goldberg; Southland Jewish Organization; Jewish People's Fraternal Order; American Birobidjan Committee, Southern California Division; Dr. Monroe Engelberg; Lawrence Sperber; Elmer Carter; Max Silver; J. P. F. O. Lodge 660; Ben Lipson; in memory of my son, killed serving in Navy, 1945—Mrs. Sadie Wannowsky; Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, Local 700; International Longshoremens and Warehousemens Union, Local 26; Dr. Max Sherman; Betsy Kelly; J. A.; Detroit Bakery; Norman D. Wong; Balzer Department Store; Ida M. Epstein; Harry Atkinson; Lena Goldberg; a Friend; Dr. Hyman Engelberg; a group of members of Civil Rights Congress; William L. Goltz, Progressive Opticians; Dr. William Z. Gordon; two Friends; Sam Houston Allen; Ben Blue; Clara, Nora, Murray and Leo; Dr. Louis Schonfeld; Dr. H. G. Tully; Michael Snider; a Friend; Long Beach Chapter, Civil Rights Congress; David and Ann Grant; George and Ethel Stubbs; a Friend; Frank P. Polokoff; Sam and Dorothy Travis; Dr. and Mrs. Simson Marcus; Dr. Aaron Koran; Leo Feldman; a Friend; Isaac Zola; Harry Tenner, two Friends; Friends in the furniture industry; Sophie Cannon; Dr. Walter Kempler; Ida M. Epstein; Sojourner Truth Club, Communist Party; a Friend; Dr. Max Schoen; a group of members of the Civil Rights Congress; the Los Angeles Communist Party; The California Labor School; Jack and Clara Fox; Dr. Isidore Ziferstein; J. Allen Frankel; a group of members of the Civil Rights Congress; "Hollywood Ten" Committee; Wilshire-Carthay Pharmacy; Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions; Harry Marcus; Senior and Junior Hollywood Women's Council; Dr. Morris Horowitz; Nisei Progressive; a Friend; Dr. Morris R. Feder; Pauline Epstein; Helen Goosner; Stanley Fleishman; Maynard Omerberg; a Friend; the *California Eagle*; City Terrace Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress; The International Fur and Leather Workers Union; a Friend; Dr. Louis Phillips; a group of Needle Trade workers; the Pacific Furniture Company; Mrs. Sophia Regalado; Susie Encinas; a Friend; The Independent Progressive Party; A. B. Taff; a Friend; Furniture Workers of America, Local 576; Dr. Melven Lasken; Dr. Julia Segal; Marine Cooks and Stewards, Wilmington; a group of Carpenters; Mr. and Mrs. Garrett Eckbo; Richard Rykoff; Abramson Furniture Co.; a group of Steelworkers; Dr. Albert Blumstein; Dr. Saul Matlin; a group of Friends; Connie and Mitch; Joseph Goorwitch, M. D.; George Altman; Good Wishes; Johnson Equipment Co.; Lee and Goldberg, Jewelers; Lou and Sara Lee; a Friend; California Labor School; The Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born; Emma Lazarus Div., J. P. F. O.; the *Morning Freiheit*; Southern California Slavic Council; The American Hungarian Women's Circle; Dr. Thomas L. Perry; George E. Cannaday; a Friend; Clinton Chism; Paul Pierce; Lillian Albert; a Friend; two Friends; Mr. and Mrs. Chernitsky; Selma Mikels Bachelis; Dr. H. Cimring; a Staunch Supporter.

## NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

This organization was originally known as the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Like the National Lawyers Guild its original membership included many sincere and patriotic liberals. Harold Ickes was national chairman of the newly-formed council in 1946, but, like Morris Ernst had resigned in disgust as head of the guild, so Ickes resigned from the council in 1946 because by then its pro-Communist nature was obvious to all who wished to see.

Soon after this front was created June Hoffman, a member of the cultural commission of the Communist Party of New York stated: "We built the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and it is a great political weapon." This declaration was made at a Party convention in 1945. In 1948 Louis F. Budenz stated that: "The Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was worked out originally in my office in the *Daily Worker*."

The 1948 report of this committee, which deals almost entirely with Communist front organizations, contains a description of the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and the 1949 report quotes liberally from an analysis issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It remains only to correlate this material and bring it up to date.

Some of the persons affiliated with the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council in California were Alice Hunter, Norman Corwin, Professor Franklin Fearing, Dr. Linus Pauling, Robert W. Kenny, John Howard Lawson, Kenneth MacGowan, Thomas Mann, Charlotta Bass, Herbert Biberman, Lester Cole, Edward Dmytryk, Rose Hobart, Albert Maltz, Sam Ornitz, Paul Robeson, Adrian Scott, Earl Robinson, Dr. Murray Abowitz, Alvah Bessie, Lewis Milestone, Irving Pichel, Edward G. Robinson, Herman Shumlin, Dalton Trumbo, and Frank Tuttle. Headquarters is maintained at 1515 Crossroads-of-the-World, Hollywood 28, California, and the organization is presently known as the Hollywood Arts, Sciences and Professions Council.

Drawing its members from the ranks of left-wing scientists, actors, writers and professional men, the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council is the most potent Communist-controlled cultural front in California today. It has managed to conceal its true nature from many of its members, and as one may readily see by tracing the genealogy of the council on page 52 et seq., of the 1948 report, the razzle-dazzle Hollywood style development of this front enabled it to fool large numbers of non-Communists. At the present time, however, the council has been quite thoroughly exposed; those stalwarts who cling stubbornly to their memberships while protesting at the same time that they are not affiliated with Communist fronts simply make themselves appear ridiculous.

The Arts, Sciences and Professions Council has a scattered membership in northern California, but in Los Angeles County it flourishes

vigorously. This is not only due to the fact that the bulk of the population is concentrated in the southern part of the State, but may be also attributed to the fact that a great many motion picture celebrities are active in the council and use their glamor as bait to lure innocent liberals into the organization.

## SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE

On March 25-27, 1949, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions arranged a gigantic peace demonstration at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. This affair was described in a congressional committee report issued in April, 1949, and which was reproduced in this committee's 1949 report. From more recent sources we have additional information about this meeting, which was the first of a long series of new peace fronts through which the Party is working to impede the American defense effort.

Mr. Karl Baarslag, research specialist for the Americanism Commission of the American Legion, described the New York meeting in an appendix to *Summary and Trends* as follows:

"A staff member of the National Americanism Commission sized up the 1,800 diners as they picked up their tickets and entered the grand ballroom, but he passed up a \$10 plate feast as too ritzy and expensive. Alexander Trachtenberg, head of International Publishers, the official Communist Party publishing house and cultural commissar for the CPUSA; John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, and one of the 11 Communists presently on trial in New York; Joseph Starobin, foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*; Claudia Jones, alien Communist facing deportation, and several other leading Communists were observed. The 1,800 pro-Soviet banqueters were a hard looking lot. Howard Rushmore, of the *New York Journal-American*, studying their faces and bearing, commented: 'Look at the dirty ——. There isn't one of them that wouldn't kill us if they ever came to power in this country.'

"There were no poor or humble people here picking up their \$10 banquet tickets. There were no war mutilated or wounded. Few showed any service insignia. Their faces, in the aggregate, reflected shifty-eyed cunning, hard-bitten cynicism, smug self-satisfaction, arrogance, and typical Communist conceit. Friendly, kindly, open countenances were rare. Clothing, women's coiffures and wraps and their general mien and bearing showed the mob to be almost 100 percent middle class and upper middle class. Probably less than one in a hundred had ever worked with his hands or ever undergone suffering, poverty or social degradation. Upper class scum and decadent intellectuals describes this mass of Stalin's stooges.

"Outside in the rain-drenched pavements lower middle class and poor people picketed. They carried anti-Communist and anti-Soviet picket signs and black-draped flags of the east European



countries swallowed up by Russia since 1939. Paraplegic and amputee veterans were wheeled back and forth by other veterans. Their pathetic presence probably explained the smirks and sneers of the diners as they ascended the grand staircase to enter the sumptuous grand ballroom. Only a Dickens, Swift, or Dostoevsky could possibly do full justice to such an obscene and cynical farce as this dinner presented.

"Harlow Shapley was toastmaster at the banquet. On the dais was Dmitri Shostakovich; Professor Olaf Stapledon, sole British delegate; Jovan Popovitch of Yugoslavia; Alexander A. Fadayev, Commissar of the Russian delegation and obviously 'boss' of the whole show; and a number of other foreign and domestic Stalinists and Party-liners. Stapledon bluntly warned America that the British people would not wholeheartedly support a war against Soviet Russia as they had against Hitler. 'We learned to dislike very strongly being occupied by American troops,' he said. 'We should, of course, also loathe being occupied by Russian troops,' he added. The professor was sure America was 50 to 100 years behind Britain 'in social consciousness and social organization.' Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, blew the only sour note at the love-dear-old-mother-Russia and good-old-Uncle-Joe hootenanny.

"Cousins flatly declared that the hostility which the conference had aroused 'was the inevitable reaction to the auspices under which it was held,' evidently referring to his host, the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions. In a stirring and provocative address, Cousins asked the iron curtain delegates to go back and tell their own countrymen 'that Americans are anti-Communist but not anti-humanitarian, and that being anti-Communists does not automatically mean that they are pro-war.' The balance of his address was reported in the *New York Times* as 'an impassioned defense of the American way of life.' Mr. Cousins was 'politely' hissed and booed during and after his address by his swank gathering of intellectuals. One Commy girl, wild with rage, smashed her plate. Another Stalinist shouted, 'You hypocrite, you're at the wrong conference!'

"Pickets, carrying all manner of derisive signs and patriotic slogans, began massing before the Waldorf-Astoria early Friday morning. The police had granted unrestricted mass picketing, providing the entrance and sidewalks were unobstructed. Crowds, estimated as high as 8,000, gathered to watch the picket lines surrounding three sides of the hotel.

"One hundred and fifty reporters were granted a twenty-five minute press interview session with the delegates from iron curtain countries, but even this turned into a farce. The Perroquet suite was a madhouse as newsreel and other photographers tried to shoot their wary game and reporters screamed and yelled questions which largely went unanswered. Professor Harlow Shapley, Chairman of the Cultural and Scientific Conference and Harvard astronomer,



nervously and hurriedly read off a canned statement which claimed that the conference was nothing but 'citizens efforts to contribute, in these troubled times, to seek some solution to peace.' Asked if there was a single person there who favored or supported American foreign policy, Shapley refused to answer. He then tried to get a Polish delegate to the microphone to read another prepared statement, but was frustrated by the insistent reporters who wanted direct answers to their questions and not prepared stilted lectures."

The following Californians were among the sponsors of this conference: Dr. Thomas Addis, Gregory Ain, Herbert Biberman, Henry Blankfort, Michael Blankfort, J. Edward Bromberg, Morris Carnovsky, Charles Chaplin, Edward Chodorov, Lester Cole, Norman Corwin, Kyle Crichton, Howard DaSilva, Edward Dmytryk, Guy Endore, Jose Ferrer and his ex-wife, Uta Hagen, Will Geer, Jay Gorney, E. Y. Harburg, Rose Hobart, Judy Holliday, Robert W. Kenny, Howard Koch, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams, Thomas Mann, Albert Maltz, Sam Moore, Dr. Linus Pauling, Anton Refrigier, Holland Roberts, Budd Schulberg, Gale Sondergaard, Dalton Trumbo, and Lion Feuchtwanger.

Other sponsors included: Paul Robeson, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Howard Fast, Clifford Odets, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Louis Adamic, Herbert Aptheker, Zlato Balokovic, Dr. Edward K. Barsky, Witter Bynner, Serge Chermayeff, Nicolai Okovsky, Jules Dassin, Hallie Flanagan Davis, Muriel Draper, W. E. B. DuBois, Philip Evergood, Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, Lous Gelders, William Gropper, Dashiell Hammett, Langston Hughes, Albert E. Kahn, Garson Kanin, Rockwell Kent, Corliss Lamont, Canada Lee, Professor Robert Morss Lovett, Professor Robert S. Lynd, A. B. Magil, Scott Nearing, Professor Frank Oppenheimer, Professor Erwin Panofsky, Arthur Upham Pope, Professor Walter Rautenstrauch, Professor Frederick L. Schuman, Howard Selsam, Agnes Smedley, Johannes Steel, Professor Bernhard J. Stern, Donald Ogden Stewart, Professor Dirk J. Struik, Mary Van Kleek, Professor Colston E. Warne, Professor Gene Welfish.

## PEACE FRONTS

From the union of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council and the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace there issued a lusty family of little peace fronts. This type of Communist-controlled organization is important to the Party now for the purpose of propagandizing for peace at any cost, to oppose all defense measures, and to divide and confuse our people on foreign policy and issues of domestic preparedness. It takes no seer to predict an ultimate epidemic of strikes and obstructive tactics by those key trade unions on which the Party has been focusing its attention for the past 30 years.

This new peace crusade, reminiscent of a similar campaign conducted by the American Communists during the last war and until the

Germans invaded Russia on June 22, 1941, will be steadily accelerated as a basic part of the international Party line.

### AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR WORLD PEACE

On September 9 and 10, 1949, an assemblage was convened at Mexico City. This front was the first large peace organization following the New York conference described above. Among the California sponsors of this affair: Dr. Linus Pauling, Hugh Bryson, Charles Chaplin, Robert W. Kenny, Uta Hagen (ex-wife of Jose Ferrer), Charlotta Bass, Lion Feuchtwanger, Rose Hobart, Howard Koch, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Thomas Mann, Anton Refrigier, Holland Roberts, Gale Sondergaard and Dalton Trumbo. Others included: W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, Mary Van Kleek, Muriel Draper, Ella Winter, John J. Abt, Herbert Aptheker, Dr. Edward K. Barsky, Martha Dodd, Olin Downes, Paul Draper, Phillip Evergood, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Howard Fast, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Waldo Frank, William Gropper, Professor Ralph H. Gundlach, Dashiell Hammett, Albert E. Kahn, Rockwell Kent, Corliss Lamont, Millard Lampell, Vito Marcantonio, Scott Nearing, Clifford Odets, Erwin Panofsky, Howard Selsam, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Samuel Sillen, Agnes Smedley, Joseph Starobin, Professor Bernhard J. Stern, Donald Ogden Stewart, Professor Dirk J. Struik, Colston E. Warne and James Waterman Wise.

In the *New Leader*, a widely known liberal publication, of September 3, 1939, on pages 1 and 3, Victor Alba, the paper's correspondent in Latin America, described the American Continental Congress for World Peace from his vantage point in Mexico City. Some of his comment is quoted herewith:

"The so-called American Continental Congress for Peace—latest of the Stalinist 'cultural' and 'peace' fronts—will convene in Mexico City September 5-10. This, therefore, is as good a time as any to take a look at the way a continent, or a hemisphere—ours—is being softened up for the Communist line.

"Chief organizer of the American Continental Congress is the artist Pablo O'Higgins, in whose studio Alfaro Siqueiros disguised himself as a policeman to undertake the first—and unsuccessful—attack on Trotsky.

"Assistant to O'Higgins is Dr. Esther Chapas, a lady distinguished for having been discharged from the staff of the Mexico City prison because she served too openly as liaison for Jacques Mornard—if that is his name—the assassin of Trotsky.

"Grouped around these two rather questionable figures are Gabriella Mistral, Chilean Nobel Prize winner; Alfonso Rayes, candidate for the Nobel Prize; the poet Enrique Gonzales Martinez; Dr. Luis Carrido, Rector of the University of Mexico; the Mexican archeologist Alfonso Caso; the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz; the Colombian writer Sanin Cano; and finally, the Spanish

ex-president, Jose Giral, who seems now to be revealed as nothing but a man of straw.

"Behind this respectable facade the real manipulators operate. These include well-known Communists like Lombardo Toledano, trade union fuehrer; Diego Rivera; Narcisso Bassols; Fernando Gamboa; Lazaro Pena, former Communist trade union boss; and the Chilean Senator in exile, Salvador Ocampo.

"As usual, the Stalinists have managed to invest their phony 'peace conference' with a religious aura, as exemplified by the Colombian priest Enrique P. Arbelaez, and the United States Episcopal minister Arthur W. Moulton.

"Nor are stage and screen stars lacking, including Dolores del Rio, Charles Chaplin, Maria Felix and the inevitable Paul Robeson. Clifford Odets has signed the Stalinist Congress' call, presumably 'representing' playwrights, Thomas Mann, authors, Max Weber, artists, and finally Henry A. Wallace 'representing' . . . whom?

"General Lazaro Cardenas, who remains Mexico's strong man and whose presence was to have furnished the initial power to start the American Continental Congress for Peace on its way, has announced that he will not participate unless the congress devotes itself exclusively to the interests of peace and disregards all matters of ideology. Which means that the General will be numbered among those absent. This is a major upset for the project's sponsors. The idea of featuring Mexico's ex-president was, in fact, one of the motives for calling the conference. For the Communists and their satellites sorely need a public man who carries weight in the Caribbean.

"As the pro-Soviet Continental Congress for 'Peace' convenes it would not be amiss to recall a few choice items from the recent history of the Mexican Communist Party, the congress' local sponsor.

"Mexican Communism has never possessed the solid importance apparently ascribed to it by outsiders. Before the arrival of Vittorio Vidale in this Country, it was nothing but a dream of students and artists. This Italian Communist, who assumed the name 'Carlos Contreras,' managed to weed out the waverers, counteract Trotsky's influence, and make a trade union leader out of Lombardo Toledano.

"In 1936, Vidale departed for Spain, and a Polish-Argentinian, Lebonson, took over. In Spain Vidale commissared the Communist Party's shock force, the Fifth Regiment. He ordered the assassination of the anarchist leader, Camillo Berneri, and was almost certainly involved in the murder of Andres Nin, leader of the Party of Marxist Unity.

"Following Franco's victory, Vidale returned to Mexico and started making frequent trips to the United States. It was on one of these occasions in January, 1943, that Carlo Tresca said: "Vidale is in New York; I perceive the odor of death.' A few days later Tresca was shot down on the streets of New York. The New York police questioned Vidale but released him.

“Vidale went to Moscow in January, 1947, and from there journeyed to Trieste to become Communist boss of the Italian zone of that city. There, his chief function today is to carry on the struggle against Tito.

“Vidale’s disciples in Mexico have not proved worthy of him. Lebonson has succeeded in getting himself expelled from Mexico. In Argentina he has become technical advisor to a group of Peronist military men—a role in perfect accord with the Communist attitude toward South American Fascist dictators.

“After Lebonson, the Mexican C. P. split into three factions, led respectively by Dionisio Encinas, Hernan Laborde, and Rafael Carrillo. These factions differ only in the degree of their orthodoxy. Each conveniently takes the lead when its doctrines and attitudes happen to fit the world Soviet line.

“In the trade unions, Communism’s decline is most evident. After Toledano’s expulsion from the Mexican Confederation of Labor, which he had founded, the only remaining important unions controlled by the Communists were the oil workers. With General Lazaro Cardenas on their platform, Latin American Communists might have accomplished their hidden purposes—at least temporarily. But without a Cardenas, without ‘even a Shostakovich to serve as decoration,’ as one newspaper put it—the American Continental Congress for Peace will be neither continental, nor American, nor a congress, nor devoted to peace in any shape or form. It will be a flop.”

So far as accomplishing any real, solid objective the American Continental Congress for Peace may have been a flop. But as the forerunner of a host of peace fronts in the United States and throughout Latin America, and as a medium for the churning up of pro-Soviet propaganda the congress was a pronounced success. The committee deems it important to include much of the material from Mr. Alba’s article because Mr. Lombardo Toledano is a frequent visitor in Los Angeles and it is considered worthwhile to indicate the type of persons in Mexico City the congress had lined up as sponsors.

Peace fronts as a whole provide an excellent example of how such organizations are smoothly geared to the international party line—which is simply the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. It is often difficult to impress upon laymen that the constant long-range goal of Communism is world domination and that every action of the American Communist Party is necessarily dictated from Moscow. Like some furtive predatory animal the international Communist conspiracy stalks its capitalistic prey, striking a blow at some weak spot, retreating or advancing as conditions warrant, paralyzing production with labor strikes, indoctrinating students, fomenting racial discord, ridiculing our legal system and our courts, sowing confusion and propagandizing our people.



The elaborate and constantly changing system of fronts has enabled the Party here to work steadily and constantly to soften us for the eventual kill. The damage these organizations have done to our national welfare is incalculable.

Before the last war there appeared on the American scene an array of peace fronts through which the Soviet Union attempted, and with considerable success, to hamstring our defense efforts. While the American League Against War and Fascism, the American League for Peace and Democracy and the American Peace Mobilization were operating under full steam, the Communist-dominated unions were retarding our preparedness program with an epidemic of strikes.

The peace fronts and the strikes were, of course, scuttled overnight on June 22, 1941. From that momentous date until the war ended new fronts were erected to clamor for more aid to the Soviet Union, an all-out defense effort and the immediate opening of a "second front" in Europe. The end of World War II was a signal for resuming the pre-war activities to impede our defense program—hence the new crop of current peace fronts.

#### COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES

On August 21, 1949, this organization was launched with a characteristic "open letter" signed by more than 800 Americans, most of whom were moved by a sincere longing for peace and who were completely unaware of the true nature and purpose of this movement. So cleverly, indeed, was this front camouflaged during its formative stage that many anti-Communists were completely deluded. Most of them have since withdrawn. The organization was originally known as the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. Among the signers of the open letter were: Albert Maltz, Dalton Trumbo, James Waterman Wise, Professor Dirk J. Struik, Dr. Edward K. Barsky, W. E. B. DuBois, Ben Gold, Dashiell Hammett, Albert E. Kahn, Vito Marcantonio, Mary Van Kleek, Hugh DeLacy, Professor Ralph H. Gundlach, Rockwell Kent, Hugh Bryson, Dr. Linus C. Pauling, Muriel Draper, Abram Flaxer, Uta Hagen, Agnes Smedley, Professor Gene Weltfish, Anton Refrigier, Dr. Murray Abowitz, Charlotta Bass, Stanley Mofatt, Rev. Edward L. Parsons, John M. Weatherwax, Abraham Unger and Jacob Zeitlin.

The organization, now known as the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, has its written material printed by the Prompt Printing Press, 113 Fourth Avenue, New York City, which uses union label No. 209. The same printing concern turns out most of the official Communist Party literature under the same label. The familiar line followed by this organization urges admission of Red China to the United Nations, with immediate withdrawal of all American aid to anti-Communist regimes in Asia, it opposes the Internal Security Act of the United States, and advocates international negotiations concerning our atomic secrets. The national officers, as of 1951, include two prominent Californians: Dr. Thomas Mann and Dr. Linus Pauling.



### AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

This movement, strikingly similar to the old American Peace Mobilization, was generated by the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace heretofore described. This lusty Red infant was born in January, 1951, and its birth notice appeared in the *Daily Worker* on February 1st. National headquarters for the organization are located at 1186 Broadway, New York City. Leaders in this front are: Ben Gold, Howard Fast, Albert E. Kahn, Paul Robeson, Hugh Bryson, Abram Flaxer, Rockwell Kent, W. E. B. DuBois, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Erwin Panofsky, and two Californians, a scientist and a writer, who continue to protest that they are not fellow-travelers while at the same time they are in the process of joining one Communist front organization after another—Dr. Linus C. Pauling, of the California Institute of Technology, and Dr. Thomas Mann of Pacific Palisades.

There are many lesser peace fronts; there are drives to circulate peace petitions; there are short-lived panel discussions, forums, committees, commissions, and mobilizations; there are student organizations to oppose universal military training and other defense measures; there are groups of mothers urging Congress to bring the troops home from abroad; there are, in fact, so many activities of this type that an entire report could be devoted to them alone.

### EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON WORLD PEACE AND CHINA

This front, launched in November, 1950, deserves attention not because of its national importance but rather because one of its sponsors is the Rev. Stephen Fritchman, pastor of the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles. Rev. Fritchman has an even more impressive list of front affiliations than his predecessor, the Reverend Ernest Caldecott. The First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles, used on Sundays for purposes of religious worship, has on week days been used repeatedly by atheistic Communist enterprises.

The activities of this emergency conference are closely geared to a notorious front known as the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. Mr. William Kerner, west coast director of the latter, is a sponsor of the former. Others are Mrs. Paul Robeson, Professor Erwin Panofsky and Reverend Arthur W. Moulton.

### COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

A document issued by no less an authority than the Communist Party of Alameda County characterizes this organization as a front. It was developed from the old Committee to Win the Peace, and has been exceedingly active in California since about 1947. National headquarters is located at 80 East 11th Street, New York City. In this State the San Francisco office was opened at 1841 Ellis Street and in Los Angeles at 5300 La Cresta Court.

William Kerner, as west coast director, plugs for peace and urges us to cooperate with the Far Eastern Communist regimes at the same time, no easy job since the Korean war. But Mr. Kerner is admirably qualified for his task. After receiving a bachelor of science degree from Brooklyn College in New York he was granted a fellowship by the Department of Oriental Studies at Yale. Having shown an early interest in Marxism even as a young student, Kerner's pro-Communist tendencies burst into full bloom by 1947, as is attested by his connection with a handful of potent front organizations and his status as a lecturer at the Communist School in San Francisco.

During the summer of 1950 the Communist School and Mr. Kerner's Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy sponsored a program which they called, and not inappropriately, "Asia Shakes the World." Speakers at this affair included Mr. Kerner, Maude Russell, Sidney Roger, Hazel Grossman, Holland Roberts and an organization which was termed the Chinese Democratic Youth Chorus. This is the Party language for a group of Chinese Communist singers.

In passing it should be noted that in Los Angeles County Mr. Kerner's organization is currently using the mailing list of the Arts, Sciences Professions Council, a common courtesy extended by one front to another. In San Francisco the *Daily People's World* borrowed Mr. Kerner's mailing list to plug a conference on world affairs held at Asilomar in 1949; and on December 9th of that year the *People's World* published a four-page supplement on China, hailing the Red regime and carrying the following comment:

"This extra supplement of the *Daily People's World*, only daily labor-progressive paper on the West Coast, is published at the request of our readers.

They are distributing [sic] it in California, Oregon, Washington and other western states.

They are distributing it in the interests of establishing diplomatic and economic relations between the United States and the new People's Republic of China. They are distributing it for two reasons:

U. S. trade with China means jobs for U. S. workers, and particularly for workers on the West Coast.

U. S. recognition of new China will further the cause of world peace.

The articles in this supplement bear out those fundamental facts. Read them, and pass this supplement on to a friend or co-worker.

Equally important—subscribe to the *Daily People's World*. It is a twelve-page tabloid newspaper, published five times a week, Monday through Friday. It is devoted to the labor movement, to the progressive movement.

To have the *Daily People's World* mailed to your home, simply fill out the subscription blank at the right."

The following notice was contained in a box on page 3 of this supplement:

"The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy announced today the opening of a nation wide campaign for friendship, trade and recognition with the People's Republic of China.

"The campaign will be launched with the circulation of a scroll to be signed by thousands of Americans hailing the establishment of the new Chinese government. Each signer will be given a button bearing the flags of the U. S. and new China and the slogan 'For friendship, trade and recognition.'

"Members and friends of the committee are urged to circulate these scrolls to let the largest numbers of people express their desire for equal relations between the two countries.

"William Kerner, West Coast director of the committee, said scrolls and buttons may be obtained by writing to: Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Box 227, San Francisco; Box 9897, Station S, Los Angeles, or 80 East 11th Street, New York 3, New York."

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy published a slick monthly booklet called *Far East Spotlight*, sold in all Communist book stores for 20 cents a copy or \$3 for a year's subscription. The issue for October, 1950, listed the national officers as follows: Maud Russell, Executive Director; Leonard Leader, Assistant Executive Director; Phillip O. Keeney, Treasurer; William Kerner, West Coast Director; Executive Committee: Hugh Bryson, Abraham Chapman, Rev. John Darr, Jr.; Morris Davis, Hugh DeLacy, James Durkin, Taletha Gerlach, Ira Golobin, C. E. Johansen, Rita Judd, Rev. J. Spencer Kennard, Paul Robeson, Nathan Rock, Arthur Schutzer, Chu Tong, Jeanette Turner, Jeffry Van Clief, and Susan Warren. Recent contributors to the publication have included: Herbert Aptheker, Hugh Bryson, Shuji Fuji (former editor of a Japanese-Communist paper in Los Angeles), Victor Perlo, Martin Popper, Mrs. Paul Robeson, Agnes Smedley, Professor Dirk J. Struik, and Henry Wallace.

The October, 1950, issue is typical of the sort of propaganda this publication carries. It heaps abuse on Chiang Kai-shek and praises all the Chinese Communists, and it tells us to take our troops immediately out of Korea. In convincing testimony of the fact that General Douglas MacArthur proved to be an immovable barrier in the path of the Kremlin's plan for complete domination of the entire Far East, the October, 1950, issue of this magazine does its part to pave the way for his dismissal and the removal of the impediment in the path of Communist domination by undermining him and quoting attacks against him that were culled from the world press. Some of the items are quoted herewith from pages 19 and 20 of the magazine:

"\* \* \* Gen. MacArthur confirms the view that he is not a fit and proper person to be in charge of responsible military operations

\* \* \* When MacArthur allows Chiang Kai-shek to talk of reconquering China with American help, we wonder whether the American people are now so completely the victims of war propaganda that they can be bamboozled into so wicked and disastrous an imperialist venture. We cannot believe that the British commonwealth will allow itself to be dragged by Gen. MacArthur into an 'intervention' which would drive all the Asiatic peoples into the Communist camp.

"Urging that the United Nations Security Council reconsider its refusal to hear representatives of China, the conservative *Sunday Observer* declared September 3: 'Even our allies who do not recognize the Chinese government have an urgent practical interest in meeting its representatives on neutral ground, and thus establishing some contact.'

"The Liberal Party's *London Star* ribbed MacArthur as a man who 'fancied himself as an orator, scholar and corncob-smoking father of all GIs.' Then, more seriously, it warned that 'In a democracy, the government makes policy and the business of military commanders, as of diplomats and all civil servants, is to carry it out.'

"The *Sunday Pictorial*, with four and a half million circulation, has said simply: 'America must recognize, as Britain has done, the Red victory in China. She must disown the corrupt regime of Chiang Kai-shek and withdraw her protection from Formosa'."

"The Labor Party newspaper *Daily Herald* showed its concern with America's policy on Formosa in a peace headline The Menace of MacArthurism. Wrote member of Parliament Michael Foote: 'MacArthur believes that Communism can be fought with the weapons of old imperialism.'

"The authoritative *Manchester Guardian* rapped MacArthur's 'suppressed' statement on Formosa as 'deplorable.' For particular criticism it singled out his statement that America's frontier has 'shifted to embrace the entire Pacific ocean which can become a peaceful lake' only if dominated by the U. S. 'But does Asia desire that the Pacific should be an American lake? Are these arguments to advance in the middle of a United Nations campaign?' the paper asked."

"The London *Daily Mirror* with a circulation of four million pointed out wryly that MacArthur is not just a U. S. Military man 'who has over reached himself meddling in foreign policy' but that now he operates under the U. N. flag. 'It is profoundly shocking that he should risk entangling the U. N. elsewhere by his ill-advised and provocative claims concerning Formosa'."

The committee deemed it appropriate to quote the foregoing extracts from a publication issued by a known Communist front organization, and one so classified by the United States Department of Justice,



for the purpose of showing how precisely the Communist Party line pinpointed its attention on the undermining of General MacArthur as an individual with whom the Communists were profoundly dissatisfied. The committee, of course, is in no position to know what effect, if any, this type of propaganda had on American thinking in high places. It is simply quoted as an illustration of the type of propaganda that is dredged up from the Communist Party press, and it is a striking coincidence that the criticism heaped on MacArthur from the October, 1950, issue of the *Far East Spotlight* is peculiarly similar to abuse heaped on General MacArthur from other critical sources.

## AMERICAN COMMITTEE IN AID OF CHINESE INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES

This front organization, sometimes known as Indusco, has its headquarters at 439 Fourth Avenue in New York City, and since it is the medium through which American dollars are used to supply the Chinese Communists, it deserves at least passing attention here. The literature issued by this organization is printed by the Advance Printing Company, 324 East 24th Street in New York City, which uses union label No. 264. This organization also prints the propaganda material for the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, American Council for Democratic Greece, the American-Slav Congress, the Congress of American Women, the Council on African Affairs, the Council for Pan-American Democracy, International Labor Defense, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the National Negro Congress. Each one of these organizations is listed as Communist-dominated by the Attorney General of the United States. Among the sponsors for American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives are Hugh DeLacy, Arthur Upham Pope, and Professor Walter Rautenstrauch.

## BILL OF RIGHTS CONFERENCE

On July 16 and 17, 1949, a conference on civil rights was held at the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York City. Since a great many of the sponsors for this Communist-prompted enterprise are citizens of California, the organization deserves mention here. Among the California sponsors, whose names must by now be familiar to the readers of these reports, were: Dr. Murray Abowitz, Gregory Ain, Erward Barlow, Kasper Bauer, Herbert Biberman, Hugh Bryson, Goodman Brudney, Mrs. Evans Carlson, Clair Case, Paul Chown, Charles Christopher, Dr. George A. Coe, John Cromwell, Lydia d'Fonseca, William B. Esterman, Dr. Franklin Fearing, Lion Feuchtwanger, Lillian S. Fortier, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Morris Goodman, Rosalie Goodman, Hugh Hardyman, Julian Hicks, Rose Hobart, Uta Hagen, E. Y. Harburg, Howard Koch,

Isaac Kushner, Ring Lardner, Jr., Arthur Laurants, John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Ben Margolis, Dr. Judd Marmor, Sandra Martin, Stanley Moffatt, Frank Pestana, A. J. Piboda, Anton Refrigier, Rose Risley, Holland Roberts, Victor Shapiro, Gale Sondergaard, Lawrence Sperber, Fred Steinmetz, Eddie Tanger, Rev. Raymond A. Waser, Jack M. Weatherwax and Bernard Young.

Other sponsors included : John Abt, Harry Bridges, Witter Bynner, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Hugh DeLacy, Dr. Harl R. Douglas, W. E. B. DuBois, Clifford J. Durr, Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Howard Fast, Abram Flaxer, Ben Gold, Professor Ralph H. Gundlach, Rockwell Kent, Donald Henderson, Robert Morss Lovett, Professor Robert S. Lynd, A. B. Magil, Vito Marcantonio, George Marshal, Professor F. O. Matthiessen, Scott Nearing, Clifford Odets, Erwin Panofsky, Professor Herbert J. Phillips, Professor Walter Rautenstrauch, Paul Robeson, Joseph Selly, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Samuel Sillen, Agnes Smedley, Ferdinand Smith, Alfred J. Stern, Professor Bernhard J. Stern, Mary Van Kleek, Gene Weltfish and James Waterman Wise.

## NATIONAL NONPARTISAN COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF THE 12 COMMUNIST LEADERS

This organization is explained by its title. Among its California sponsors were : Charlotta A. Bass, Edward Barlow, Hugh Bryson, George A. Coe, Hugh Hardyman, Albert Maltz, Howard Edwin Sweeting, and Eddie Tanger. Others were : W. E. B. DuBois, Howard Fast, Ben Gold, Uta Hagen, Rockwell Kent, Vito Marcantonio, Clifford Odets, Anton Refrigier, Paul Robeson, Samuel Sillen, Mary Van Kleek, Professor Gene Weltfish, Hugh DeLacy, and Donald Henderson.

## INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' ORDER

This organization, which is the insurance and fraternal arm of the Communist Party of the United States, much as the Civil Rights Congress is the legal arm of the Party, has been operating in this Country since 1930. In Appendix 9, issued by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, this Communist insurance and propaganda agency is described in detail. The material is amply documented from Communist publications that are cited at length. The California committee has received considerable documentary and oral evidence concerning the I. W. O., and characterized it as Communist controlled several years ago.

Max Bedacht, ex-general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, a former member of its national executive committee, a frequent visitor to the Soviet Union and an affiliate with many Communist front organizations, served as the head of the I. W. O. from 1938 to 1940. He described the organization as follows :

“Our main concern as our proletarian fraternal organization, the International Workers' Order, can make the workers class-conscious \* \* \* this problem is of the greatest importance. It is one

of the major problems of Communist leadership in all non-Party mass organizations.

"The development of its members into militant trade unionists or Communists thus becomes a natural result of a correct functioning of the International Workers' Order \* \* \* The Communists, rather, develop and lead struggles for immediate achievements because they are concerned with creating a revolution \* \* \* The Communists organize mass economic strikes by the workers themselves, mass picketing by the workers themselves, mass demonstrations by the workers themselves, mass defense by political strikes by the workers themselves \* \* \* The I. W. O. is an organization that allows Communist leadership to drive its roots into the uncharted depths of the America working masses \* \* \* the building of the I. W. O. is therefore, one of the most important tasks of the Communist Party." (See Appendix 9, page 850; see *Daily Worker*, February 2 and 3, 1933.)

This organization is not only a medium for the purpose of raising large amounts of money for Party purposes, for propagandizing, but it is also an important vehicle for the bringing together of racial minority groups and recruiting them into the Party itself.

Writing in the *American Legion Magazine* for March, 1951, Louis F. Budenz, a former member of the Communist national committee of the United States and ex-editor of the *Daily Worker*, has an article devoted entirely to the International Workers' Order, which he describes as a "Red bulwark." Mr. Budenz did considerable work in the I. W. O. as a Party leader, it being a part of his many duties to deliver lectures to the various lodges of the organization throughout the Country, but particularly in the vicinity of New York. In speaking of the fundamental but concealed purposes of the organization he says, on page 52:

"Every branch of the I. W. O. in the 19 states in which it is chartered has been employed for similar purposes. I have frequently met men in civic and trade union life in the headquarters at Pittsburg, for instance, to convey to them instructions from the Red center in New York. If questioned, any one of these men could always say: 'What harm is there in going there to pay for my insurance?'

"The very birth of the I. W. O. was for the purpose of making it a creature of Stalinite espionage and infiltration. Its original nucleus was the foreign-speaking branches of the Social Democratic Benefit Society, the Workmen's Circle. In 1930, with a great noise, these branches broke off from the older organization, echoing the Moscow line as they did so. From that time forward the I. W. O. has always servilely stated what the Kremlin wanted said, both in public declarations and within its local lodge meetings. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact period, it denounced President Roosevelt and his congressional leaders as 'warmongers and imperialists.' Later on it cheered for Teheran and for Yalta just as all the Reds did.

"An I. W. O. lodge, indeed, cannot be distinguished in its political tone from a Communist Party branch. They look alike, talk alike and act alike. It was my function along with other Red leaders to visit I. W. O. lodges and give 'educational' talks there. These were nothing other than the straight-out Red incitations against the United States, always wrapped up in the current language laid down by Moscow. Many a night I was out talking to the I. W. O. members in exactly the same accents and the same intent as do the 'card-carrying' Red members."

Elsewhere in his article Mr. Budenz points out that the huge membership of the IWO is a vast repository of undercover Communist fellow-travelers or secret members who are ready to do the bidding of the Party when the word is passed along. He says:

"I went into these lodge meetings as the official representative of the national committee of the Communist Party, was introduced as one having Red authority, and laid down the law just as I did in Party branches. When J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI recently told the Senate Committee on Appropriations of the 500,000 'Red sympathizers' aiding the subversive acts of the Soviet fifth column, he undoubtedly had these IWO first in mind.

"The indictment which could be drawn up against the IWO as one of Stalin's leading agencies for subversion would be extensive and detailed. The continuance of 'language' groups and divisions in an 'insurance' set-up becomes increasingly artificial in the America of today. But in the IWO it enabled a constant interweaving relationship with foreign agents from abroad, such as alleged seamen of Greek, Polish, Rumanian and other nationalities. It is largely in order to facilitate the work of spying upon our defenses that 15 nationality groups, societies and general lodges have been maintained by IWO on a national level.

"Of course, there has been another reason for this preoccupation with 'language' groups, both in the IWO and in the Communist Party itself. If the Reds could play upon the isolated feelings of many immigrants they would be able to use these people for alien purposes, just as they seek to turn the Negro against America and to make the Mexican-American feel that he is a member of a 'conquered' people. That is what caused the IWO to advertise rather extensively in Red-created Slav papers in this country. It was out of such financing, plus the recruiting from the IWO, that the Soviet fifth column was able to create so rapidly the American-Slav Congress when Moscow ordered such action.

"From my experience as a leading Communist, I can charge that every foreign language division within this 'fraternal' organization had an espionage apparatus of some sort operating within it. Perhaps the leader of all was the Polonia Society, the Polish section of the IWO, led by Boleslaw Gebert. This amazing Stalinist agent, who served as district leader of the Communist Party in the mid-west in



the early thirties, and then became the underground director of Red infiltration into the steel and automobile unions, remained an alien in this country for fully 20 years. All efforts to deport him failed, and he stands out as one of the scores of Moscow espionage representatives who exercised extensive power in this country while disdaining American citizenship. To my personal knowledge Gebert not only obtained vital secrets pertaining to our military aircraft, but ran an extensive espionage ring."

Headquarters for the IWO nationally is located on 85th Avenue in New York City. The organization has been active in the State of California for a number of years. Rockwell Kent, whose name has already been observed in connection with front organizations heretofore cited, and who is becoming almost as notorious as a fellow-travelling joiner of front organizations as he is justly noted as an artist, is now the national head of the IWO, and is devoting virtually all of his time to the activities of the organization.

The IWO now has 81 lodges in California, is licensed to conduct an insurance business in this State, and as of 1950 had 8,495 insurance certificates in force, \$5,438,710 in insurance policies in force, and received \$123,762.80 from its members in California alone. It is high time that this organization be investigated by the insurance commissioner and its license to conduct its business in this State withdrawn, as it has been withdrawn in other states.

## CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN

In its 1948 report this committee listed the Congress of American Women as a Communist front. This organization was started in New York City on March 8, 1946, as an affiliate section of the Women's International Democratic Federation and it now has chapters in many large American cities. In Los Angeles it has maintained headquarters at 3410½ West Ninth Street and at 656¾ Victoria Avenue.

On February 18, 1948, Mrs. Frederic March, whose stage name is Florence Eldridge, was called before the committee in Los Angeles and testified that she had attended a Paris meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation as a delegate from the Congress of American Women. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn also attended the Paris meeting as a delegate from the Congress of American Women, and at the time she was also a member of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States. Mrs. March admitted that she was acquainted with Mrs. Flynn. Other women in California who played a prominent part in the early organizing of the Congress of American Women in this State were Mrs. Rosalind Lindsmith, of Oakland and Mrs. Miriam Brooks Sherman, a former employee of the University of California at Los Angeles who is mentioned elsewhere in this report. These women were contacted and asked to help in organizing chapters of the congress in key cities of this State.

Operating as an affiliate section of the Women's International Democratic Federation, the Congress of American Women is naturally subservient to it; this means that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is the prime authority since the international federation was conceived by the Kremlin and has always been under Russian domination. To give the reader some idea of the far-flung international ramifications of the parent organization, it is only necessary to list some of the other countries that have sent delegates to the meetings of the international body. They are: Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, Finland, Italy, Germany, Red China, North Korea, Switzerland and the United States. Delegates from women's Communist organizations in each of these countries are sent to the various meetings of the Women's International Democratic Federation. The first international meeting was held at Paris in the summer of 1946, the second met in Budapest in December, 1948, and the third in Moscow on November 20, 1949.

Undisputed boss of this international federation of women is Nina Popova, whose savage attacks against the United States brought applause from the good, Red ladies assembled in Budapest:

"We have gathered at our second international congress in a tense world situation, at a time of fierce struggle between the forces of reaction and the forces of Democracy \* \* \* in order to unite \* \* \* for the struggle against the warmongers.

"To be able to fight the warmongers successfully women of all countries must know who the enemies of peace are. They must know that the inspirers and organizers of aggression, the inspirers and organizers of another war, are the present rulers of the United States and Great Britain. \* \* \*

"The American imperialists are utilizing the Marshall Plan as a means of enslaving the peoples of western Europe, Latin America and many other countries; they are robbing these countries of their sovereignty and they are subordinating them to the military interests of the United States. Reactionary circles in the United States and Great Britain are hatching insane plans of conquest in an endeavor to establish the world domination of the Anglo-American bloc.

"The Soviet Union is the vanguard of the international camp that stands for peace and democracy. This explains why the spearhead of the aggressive policy of the fomenters of another war is directed primarily against the Soviet Union \* \* \*. The foreign policy of the USSR is guided by respect for the independence and sovereignty of all countries, big and small \* \* \*."

(Report on Congress of American Women issued by Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives; see also *Soviet Woman*, No. 2, 1949, pages 16-17.)

On the evening of February 8, 1948, a meeting was held at the residence of John T. McTernan, of the law firm of Gallagher, Margolis, McTernan and Tyre—a firm of lawyers that specializes in representing

Communists, fellow-travelers and front organizations. Present on this occasion were approximately 250 men and women and among those present were: Evodkia I. Uralova, Minister of Education for Byelo of the Soviet Union; Xenia Gromyko, the wife of Andrei Gromyko; Elizabeth A. Popova, Soviet judge; Ivan Tarasov, USSR Vice-Consul; Alexandria Groth, Mrs. Irving Adler, Dr. Jack Agins, Bella Dubnoff, Frances R. Eisenberg (see committee's 1947 report), Priscilla M. Esterman, Willard Hall Francis, Harold Gardner, Leslie Gardner, Joseph Gaorwitch, Sanford Goldner, Susan I. Hardyman, C. Korneff, Jerome McNair, Helen Hall Moreland and Rea M. Schneider. This affair was held under the sponsorship of the Congress of American Women.

On the following evening, February 9, 1948, a meeting was held in the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles in honor of the visiting Russian delegation, and the two Russian women spoke, as did Mrs. Bella Dubnoff, who acted as an interpreter of the organization and also as a representative of the American-Russian Institute in Los Angeles, which is listed by the United States Department of Justice as another Communist front organization.

Those who have been affiliated with the Congress of American Women include: Gene Weltfish, Dr. Bella V. Dodd, Muriel Draper, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Mrs. Frederic March, Mary Van Kleek, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, Ida Halpern, Jean Muir, Mrs. Zlato Balokovic, Ann Rosen, Mrs. Paul Robeson, Ella Winter and Lillian Hellman.

Mrs. Paul Robeson and Muriel Draper were among the delegates from the Congress of American Women selected to attend the third international meeting in Moscow. According to reliable information, Mrs. Robeson planned to return by the way of Peiping, capitol of Communist China.

Although the membership in the Congress of American Women is not alarmingly large, an analysis of the activities and characteristics of the members indicates that in some matters of this type, the female of the species is indeed more deadly than the male.

## NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SOVIET-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

This front, being a continuation of the Friends of the Soviet Union, is one of the oldest in existence. It staged an ambitious peace rally in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on December 5, 1949, and has recently conformed its entire program to the current peace crusade. Among the Californians who have been affiliated with this organization are: Harry Bridges, the late Clarence Dykstra, former provost at the University of California in Los Angeles, Frederic March, Thomas Mann, Frank Tuttle, Charles Chaplin, Lion Feuchtwanger and Edward G. Robinson. Others were: Albert E. Kahn, Hugo Ernst, Waldo Frank, Professor Robert S. Lynd, Professor Kirtley F. Mather, Clifford Odets, Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Arthur Upham Pope, Donald Ogden Stewart,

Abram Flaxer, Louis Adamic, Zlato Balokovic, Max Bedacht, Hugh DeLacy, Langston Hughes, Lillian Hellman, Rockwell Kent, Eleanor Nelson, Anton Refrigier, Paul Robeson, Earl Robinson, Herman Shumlin and Mary Van Kleek.

## JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE

This is also one of the older and more populous fronts and is still quite active. Gerhart Eisler's living expenses were paid by this organization, and his bail, in the sum of \$23,000, was posted by the Civil Rights Congress. The fact that the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee put up the money for Eisler's expenses simply means that every foolish college professor, parlor pink and bleeding-heart liberal who paid dues to the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was putting up the money to enable an enemy agent to live in the United States for the purpose of destroying us. As the American Legion's monthly publication, *Summary of Trends and Developments*, points out in its October, 1949, issue, the main office of the JAFRC is located at Suite 1501, 192 Lexington Avenue, New York City, and the Spanish Refugee Appeal, another front organization uses not only the same address but the same telephone number. Perhaps this might be construed by some as an example of guilt by association.

## SCHOOL OF JEWISH STUDIES

This organization, like the American-Jewish Labor Council and the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, and the subdivisions of the IWO, is one of the numerous racial minority Communist fronts. The organization is mentioned here because it is extremely active in southern California, being run through the facilities of the Communist School in Los Angeles, and maintaining its office at 233 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California.

## UNION OF PROGRESSIVE VETERANS

The advent of this organization was heralded by the appearance of a publication called the *Progressive Veteran* during the fall of 1939. Members of the editorial staff were listed as: Paul Hartman, John A. Johnson, Arthur Cohen, Alex Efthin, Peter Caldor and Bernard Isaacson. By November, 1949, Norris Helford, 10625 Valley Springs Lane, North Hollywood, was representing the paper and spearheading the new organization in California.

In various issues of the *Progressive Veteran* the current Communist Party line is thinly disguised—it has deplored the "hate Communism crusade," and extends a warm invitation to "trade union members, Negro veteran leaders, veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade \* \* \*" to join the newly-formed Union of Progressive Veterans. It will be recalled that the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were led in Spain by the ubiquitous Steve Nelson, and that the brigade is



cited as Communist-controlled by the Attorney General of the United States.

Volume II Number 1 of the *Progressive Veteran*, issued in January, 1950, printed a telegram which was sent by a group of progressive vets in Los Angeles to New York where the launching conference of the organization was being held. The wire read as follows:

"Meeting called for the purpose of establishing a new California Progressive Veterans organization attended by one hundred fifty veterans from Los Angeles and vicinity. Tremendous enthusiasm. Twenty-five vets appointed to interim committee for setting up of organizational structure. January eleventh meeting of interim committee at home of Ted Lishner, chairman pro tem of group. Twenty-five veterans met for four hours discussing organizational problems and procedures. Telegram from New York stating action and recommendation of New York vets read to the group. Five committees then set up—organizational, membership, program, finance, public relations and publicity.

"Interim committee to meet Friday January twentieth with five committees reporting on progress. Negro and other minority veterans plus trade union veterans contacted and invited to community meetings to stir up interest and publicity in a mass meeting to be held in early March.

"The tentative name was taken by the group. The name to be 'The Union of California Veterans.' Prospects for finances excellent. Morale high. More detailed letter to follow."

Mr. Norris Helford was formerly connected prominently with the California American Veteran's Committee. On April 9, 10, 11, 1947, the state executive board of the A. V. C. held a pre-national convention meeting at Santa Monica. The left-wing element proposed Mr. Helford as national chairman together with Ben Renaldo, the latter having been one of the signers to a petition addressed to the United States Supreme Court in behalf of the 10 Hollywood witnesses convicted of contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Helford, like many other ex-A. V. C. members, made little headway in that organization and hence took an active part in the new and more liberal Union of Progressive Veterans.

On page 3 of the *Progressive Veteran* for January, 1950, was reproduced a picture of Red Army troops standing on a bridge across the Elbe River. Some American soldiers are seen rowing toward the bridge in rubber boats. The Russians are standing under the elevated muzzles of their cannons, arms outstretched in welcome. The picture carries this caption: "April 25, 1945. GI Joe meets Ivan on the German river Elbe. Take a look—a long, hard look. Remember? Now think of the crock of stuff some trigger-happy jokers are trying to dish out these days. What do you say? Stop them on the Rhine? Hell—no! Let's meet 'em on the Elbe!"

As is only natural with organizations like the Union of Progressive Veterans, no effort is made to point out that Ivan held out both hands,

palms up, when he needed help from the United States, but once more doubled up his fists toward us when the fighting was over.

These, then, are the Communist fronts; not all by any means, but only those that are either new or particularly active in California as this report is being written (April 22, 1951). Since the fronts are being juggled, rigged out with new names and interchanged constantly it is manifestly impossible to publish a truly definitive work about the current situation, for the first portion of such a treatise would be obsolete by the time the last chapter was written.

Some of these groups, like the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the International Worker's Order, are quite old. Some, like the Committee on Peaceful Alternatives and the Union of Progressive Veterans, are relatively new.

The big four fronts in California as of the present time are: the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council; the International Worker's Order; the Civil Rights Congress, and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Those fronts that once attracted people who felt that the government should cuddle closer to the Kremlin; people who once belonged to the American-Russian Institute and similar groups, have somehow disappeared. This is due to public education and to the forthright exposure of the fronts as soon as they have set up shop.

Those readers who are sufficiently interested must be impressed by the fact that the same old clique of reliable frontiers appears over and over again in this Red solar system. And those who trace the records of any of these chronic supporters of Communist fronts in the master index published with this report can see at a glance how, at conventions and congresses, at mobilizations and crusades and councils, this Red directorate comprises individuals who rub shoulders together as they lend their names and their money and their time to this vital part of the Communist machine.

A few organizations have succeeded in driving out the Communists from key positions and salvaging themselves from Red domination. The Council for Civic Unity in Los Angeles is an example.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, once heavily infiltrated, has been striving lately to fumigate the Communists out of the organization. At its Chicago convention in 1950 the N. A. A. C. P. passed a resolution calling for all measures necessary to prevent Red infiltration and to oust Communists from the organization.

In Los Angeles the National Council of Colored Women, under the leadership of Mrs. E. B. O'Ferrall, has taken a firm stand against Communist infiltration—induced by the fact that persons purporting to represent that group had participated in front activities. So far as we are aware, the Los Angeles chapter is not only opposed to Communism in any form, but is alert to prevent pro-Communists from affiliating with the organization.

The California Association of Colored Women's Clubs has also adopted a firm anti-Communist position.

For detailed information concerning front organizations, a publication titled *Citations* may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. This compilation, if it is still in print, contains a list of the organizations declared subversive by the U. S. Attorney General, the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, the California Committee on Un-American Activities and other official bodies.

Several years ago the Communist Party was making considerable headway in many Negro organizations. During the past two years this progress has been greatly retarded, at least in this State. Prominent Negro leaders have urged the members of their race to disassociate themselves from Communist-dominated groups. The Negro people are basically religious, deeply patriotic and resentful of the hypocritical efforts of Communists to use them in furthering the international conspiracy. The overwhelming majority of our Negro people have shown a far greater tendency to follow the magnificent example of Dr. Ralph Bunche, one of the world's outstanding statesmen, than the leadership of Paul Robeson.

The committee is in receipt of a letter from Mr. Gregory Peck. The letter was originally addressed to Senator Jack Tenney after he had resigned as committee chairman, and was handed by him to his successor, Senator Hugh M. Burns. The letter, dated September 21, 1950, reads as follows:

"In reading the reports of the California State Committee on Un-American Activities, I have found my name mentioned as a sponsor or member of the following organizations: Actors' Laboratory Theater; Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions; Progressive Citizens of America; China Conference Arrangements Committee; Conference for Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Committee for the First Amendment.

"In order to clarify the record, I would like your committee to have the following information.

"I never was a member of the Actors' Laboratory Theater. Although I made a small contribution to the Actors' Laboratory in 1946, this was for the purpose of free training in theatrical crafts for students, and no authorization was ever given by me to that organization for the use of my name.

"I did, in 1946 and 1947, lend my name as sponsor to the other organizations listed above. I did so with the understanding that they were organized in support of liberal and humanitarian causes. I was most certainly not aware that these organizations were Communist fronts. I never attended a meeting or took an active part in the organization or operation of the Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee, the Progressive Citizens of America, the China Conference Arrangements Committee, or the Conference for Democratic Far Eastern Policy. I never ran for office in any of these organizations or authorized the Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee

or the Progressive Citizens of America to elect me to their executive board. I resigned from them as soon as it became apparent to me that their true aims and activities were subversive. My letters or telegrams of resignation were submitted to the Progressive Citizens of America and the Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee in October, 1948, and I resigned by telegram from the China Conference Arrangements Committee, the Conference for Democratic Far Eastern Policy and the Committee for the First Amendment in December, 1949.

"I am addressing these statements to you so that the California State Committee on Un-American Activities will have a clear and unequivocal understanding of my attitude not only to the above organizations but to all organizations which are inimical to our free and patriotic American institutions. Also, I am glad of this opportunity to state that I am not a Communist or a Communist sympathizer, never have been and never will be.

"I am enclosing two copies of this letter and I would appreciate it very much if you would send one to Senator Hugh M. Burns, Chairman of the California State Committee on Un-American Activities.

"Very sincerely yours,

"GREGORY PECK."

This is the only letter of its kind this committee has ever received from any motion picture actor, producer, director or executive. We have no evidence that Mr. Peck has ever engaged in any subversive activity, and we feel he is to be congratulated on his frank and direct attitude. Instead of expressing outrage and claiming an invasion of his civil liberties, Mr. Peck made the dignified and factual statement quoted above.

This committee has pointed out many times that the very purpose of front organizations is to fool the unwary and use them as window-dressing for the real and concealed objectives of the fronts. If all of those who have thus been duped by the manipulators of the Red solar system would follow Mr. Peck's example, the fronts would soon be running shy of members.



*The Committee on Un-American Activities believes a complete index of their reports will be of assistance for those engaged in referencing work on the activities and accomplishments of hearings conducted by the committee from its inception in 1943. This index identifies the person or subject, followed by the year in which the report was published, and the page number.*

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